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ΣΙΩΥΝΗ
An Archaeological and Historical Study
with a Prosopographia Sicyonia

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by

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CHAPTER I

Situation and Topography.

Sect. 1. Situation

Sicyon was the chief city of Sicyonia, the territory which adjoined that of Corinth on the west. Between the two cities, and contiguous with the coast of the Gulf of Corinth and the hills running parallel to it on the south, lies a fertile and famous coastal plain, intersected at several points by streams which cross it in deeply worn beds and flow parallel to each other to the Corinthian Gulf on the north. Of these parallel rivers crossing the coastal plain, the most westerly, the largest, and the most important is the Asopus.¹ Rising some miles back from springs in the declivities of Mount Carneates, a part of the high Mount Celossa,² it flows at first a calm and quiet rivulet in a grassy bed across an inland plain surrounded by lofty mountains. This was the district of Phliasia. Leaving this level expanse it encounters a high conglomerate plateau which rises to its greatest height with Mount Spiria. Through the plateau it cuts a narrow glen in which its waters rush laden with argillaceous soil washed down from the steep sides of the mountains above and finally, issuing from its deep narrow glen, flows through a gorge in the tableland and across the coastal plain of Asopia³ to the Corinthian Gulf. This lower valley of the Asopus was the principal part of the district of Sicyonia.

1) The present Hagios Georgios. 2) Str. VIII, 382; Eust. on Il. II, 572. Celossa is the modern Megalo-Vouno and Carneates the modern Polyphengo. cf. Curtius, Pelop. II, p.468; Eursian, Geog. II, p.32. 3) Str. VIII, 408; Paus. II, 1, 1; Eust. l.c. Asopia is the modern Vocha. cf. Philippon, Der Peloponnes, p.118.



Profile of the plain from Phlius to the Gulf of Corinth.

M = Marl, C = Conglomerate.

The mountains on either side of the Asopus incline to the sea, not in a continuous slope, but in a succession of abrupt descents and level terraces as is shown above in the diagram of the geological formation.⁴ Each terrace with its curving shape and approximately equal altitude throughout is separated from the following lower one by one or more steep descents and level terraces to the north so as to form a nearly uniform step. At the last of these terraces where the Asopus issues from the gorge into the coastal plain there stretches westward to the narrow glen of the Helisson a spacious tableland.⁵ The tableland,-- roughly triangular in shape with its apex turned towards the hills on the south and its base fronting the sea on the north,-- is between three and four miles in circumference. The tableland itself is divided into two levels by a rocky slope which extends quite across it from east to west forming an abrupt separation between the two terraces. The extensive

4) Reproduced from Philippson, op. cit. fig. 16, p.118. 5) The site of Sicyon and its ruins have been described by several travellers and archaeologists among whom I have consulted the following: Dodwell, Tour through Greece, II pp.293-297; Cell, Itinerary of the Morea, pp.15 ff.; Leake, Travels in the Morea III pp.355-373; L. Ross, Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland, pp. 46-48; Curtius, Pelop. II, pp.483-498; W. G. Clark, Pelop. pp.337-344; Fursian, Geog. von Gr. II, pp. 25-30; Frazer, Paus. III, pp.42 ff.; V pp. 546-549; McMurtry, A.J.A. V, 1889, pp.269-271; Paedeker, Greece³, p.306; Guides-Joanne, Grèce², p.335. Special articles will be referred to in the section on the topography and monuments.

northern and lower terrace formed the original acropolis while the main portion of the city stood in the plain at the foot of the large plateau on which the acropolis was located. In the rear of this lower terrace, to the southward, a smaller one rises above it, having about one-third the area of the lower. It was in 303 B.C. when the city fell into the hands of Demetrius Poliorcetes that the site of the city was changed.⁶ Probably for the reason that the population had become so reduced in numbers as to be inadequate for the defense of the extent of wall around the lower city, he rased the town in the plain below and compelled the citizens to build upon their original acropolis. Upon the smaller and somewhat more elevated plateau immediately behind it he placed his own acropolis and fortified the already quite impregnable height by means of a circuit wall portions of which are still to be seen. On this new site, about two miles⁷ back from the Gulf of Corinth, where it was naturally protected on every side by a wall of precipices which admit only of one or two narrow ascents into it from the plain below, and supplied with the material advantage of an abundance of water, the city continued to remain throughout the rest of classical times.

Recent travellers⁸ have observed that few ancient cities were more advantageously or beautifully situated than Sicyon. "Built on a spacious and level tableland, defended on every side by cliffs, abundantly supplied with water, at a distance both safe and convenient from the sea, from which it was divided only by a strip of fertile plain, across which blew the cool refreshing

6) Diod. XX, 102; Plut., Demet. 25; Strabo, VIII, 382; Paus. II, 7, 1. cf. p. 78.

7) Strabo's statement (l.c.) that it was twenty stadia from the sea evidently refers to the new location. The site of the new acropolis is determined by Pausanias' statement (II, 7, 5) that the theater lay under the acropolis. 8) Curtius, Pelop. II, pp. 488-489; McMurtry, A.J.A., V, 1889, p. 269 f.; Frazer, Paus. III, p. 45. I quote Frazer's fine description below.

breezes from the water to temper the summer heat, the city possessed a site secure, wholesome, and adapted both for agriculture and commerce. Nor are the natural beauties of the site less remarkable than its more material advantages. Behind it rise wooded mountains, and in front of it, across the narrow plain, is stretched the wonderful panorama of the Corinthian Gulf, with Helicon, Cithaeron, and Iarnassus towering beyond it to the north, and the mighty rock of Acro-Corinth barring the prospect on the east. At sunrise and sunset especially the scene is said to be one of indescribable loveliness. The ancients themselves were not insensible to the charms of Sicyon. A lovely and fruitful city, adapted to every recreation, says a scholiast on Homer,⁹ and Diodorus¹⁰ speaks of Sicyon as a place for peaceful enjoyment."

On the site of Sicyon, as seen today, there are, scattered here and there over the lower and the upper plateau, numerous ruins.¹¹ On the upper plateau only a few foundations appear and it is probable that there was never a great number of buildings here as Pausanias¹² mentions only two temples on this height. The squared blocks of a fortification wall standing to a height of two or three regular horizontal courses along the western edge above the glen of the Hellison, prove that the wall originally ran all along the western face of the acropolis. At the southwest end of the acropolis there was probably a gate; an ancient wall two courses high still stands on the west side of a

9) *Ibist.* on Il. II, 572. 10) *XX*, 102. Callimachus, fr. 185 calls it the abode of the blessed; in the *Iliad* (XXIII, 299) it is referred to as *εὐδαιμόνης*. Pindar (*Mem.* IX, 54) referring to the sacred games calls it *ἱερὸς*, while Philemon and Archastratus give it the epithet *φύλας* (*Athen.* VII, p. 295 a. 293 f.). 11) For descriptions of the ruins of Sicyon see n.5. The best descriptions are Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, pp. 358 f.; Curtius, *Ilel.* II, pp. 489 f.; Fursian, *Geog.* II, pp. 25 f.; Frazer, *Paus.* III, pp. 43 f. V. pp. 548-549. 12) *II*, 7, 5. c2. p. 10.

hollow leading southward to the narrow ridge which connects the plateau with the hills. On the eastern side of the acropolis there are no vestiges of a fortification wall for the obvious reason that the precipice rendered fortification unnecessary. On the northern and lower plateau portions of a fortification wall can be seen on the western, northern and eastern edges but no traces of a wall dividing the acropolis from the lower city appear to have been found.¹³

In the rocky slope between the upper and lower level near the western edge of the tableland are the conspicuous remains of the theater and stadium.¹⁴ To the east of the theater, in the same declivity, are the mouths of several subterranean aqueducts whose passages can be penetrated for considerable distances. The arches and pillars of an aqueduct which conveyed water from the hills to be distributed through the city by subterranean channels can still be seen on the narrow ridge which unites the extreme point of the acropolis with the height to the south. Frazer¹⁵ reports finding on the lower terrace a tunnel in the rock, wide enough for one man to pass, leading down through the cliffs to a gully in which there is a spring. Round its upper outlet are massive foundations of walls. He suggests that the tunnel was a postern, constructed to allow the townspeople access to the spring in case of a siege. That these underground waterworks were made on a large scale in the soft rock at Sicyon is attested by the fact that the tyrant Nicocles used this as his avenue of escape when Aratus freed the city.¹⁶

The ruins on the lower level, i.e. the city founded by Demetrius as distinct from the acropolis, are very considerable and scattered over a wide area. On the northeastern edge of the lower plateau stands the Albanian village

13) Frazer, Paus. V, p.546. 14) See pp. 11-15. 15) Paus. III, p.45. On the subterranean water channels see also Curtius, op. cit., p.491. 16) Plut. Aratus, 9.

of Vasilikó, a name which doubtless originated from the extensive ruins nearby. Most noticeable are the foundations of houses and larger buildings which extend with such exactness in straight lines from northeast to southwest or from northwest to southeast that it is clear that the Demetrian city was built on a regular plan with streets intersecting each other at right angles.¹⁷ The best preserved remains on the lower terrace are those of a large Roman building some 200 paces north of the theater. In the walls, built of thin bricks laid flat with mortar between, and standing to a height of eight to twelve feet, are large quadrangular windows. The building itself with its many small chambers is thought to have been a public bath.¹⁸ Remains of other buildings on the lower level which excavation has recently brought to light will be discussed below.¹⁹

The remains of the older city of Sicyon which stood in the plain between the tableland and the sea are very scanty. The plain is now covered with vineyards, but some vestiges of antiquity are reported from Moulíkí and Vischer²⁰ observed, near the church of St. Nicholas below Vasilikó, some pieces of columns and an ancient altar. Earle²¹ excavated with little consequence some ancient tombs on the slope of the plateau toward the Asopus south of Vasilikó, on the slope of the plateau above Moulíkí and at Mikre Frysia, and Arvanitopoulos²² has uncovered some grave monuments and inscriptions in this region which antedate the period of Demetrius (303 B.C.).

Of the port town there are no remains and the harbor is now sanded up and marked only by a marsh.²³ In ancient times it must have had special fortifi-

17) See Bohlays, *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, archit. et sculpture, III (1838), plate LXXXI; Fossum, A.J.A. IX, 1905, p.272; Haverfield, *Ancient town-planning*, p.48-49 and Naber, *Mnemosyne*, 47, 1919, p.29. 18) Frazer, *Paus.* III, p.45; V, p.547. 19) pp.16,18. 20) Quoted in Frazer, *Paus.* III, p.46. 21) A.J.A. V, 1889, pp. 287-288. 22) *Praktika*, 1908, pp.146 ff. 23) Bursian, *op. cit.*, p.30.

cations of its own for it could be held by troops apart from Sicyon as when Iamneres, the Theban, took it in 380 B.C.²⁴ and because soon thereafter when the tyrant Euphron was driven from the city he gave up the harbor town, which he had held with a garrison of his own, to the Iacedaemonians from whom it was regained by the Sicyonians with Arcadian allies.²⁵ The old city appears to have extended from the harbor back to the second terrace in Demetrius' time. Though there is no harbor there at the present day one cannot say that of ancient times for we find repeated mention of the Sicyonian fleet and even when Pausanias²⁶ uses the words ἐς τὸν Σικωνίων καλούμενον λιμένα he does not speak of it in a derogatory manner but he uses the word λιμὴν as Curtius²⁷ maintained, as a proper name.

Sect. 2. Topography and Monuments of Sicyon.

As a result of the vicissitudes through which the city passed, especially during the struggle between Sparta and Thebes when Sicyon suffered severely by its subjection to the foreign rule of Alexander and Ptolemy, its removal to a new site by Demetrius, and then after a brief renaissance to be stripped of its art treasures by the cupidity of the Roman, Scaurus, in 58 B.C., and finally after its destruction by an earthquake in the second century of our era, the remains of Sicyon, even by that time, represented only small and disconnected portions of the ancient city. Yet when Pausanias passed through it in the second century A.D. he found it, he tells us, though a place of small population, still in possession of notable buildings and precious works of art. And in our survey of the topography and monuments of the city and surroundings

24) See Chap. V. n.40. 25) See pp. 70 ff. 26) II, 12,2. 27) Pelop. II, p.497.

our purpose will best be served by following his narrative as a logical and convenient guide.

Pausanias came to Sicyon from Corinth.²⁸ On entering Sicyonian territory he saw an earthen mound marking the tomb of Lycus, a Messenian, and proceeds in his narrative to explain the architectural arrangement of the sepulchral tombs of native Sicyonians. His description of these is confirmed and illustrated by graves found in that vicinity²⁹ and by the evidence of Sicyonian coins,³⁰ on some of which tombs are figured. On these coins we see a basis or pedestal, apparently round; on it, four pillars erected supporting a gable or pediment. On each side of the tomb stands a stiff figure and a Cypress tree. The remark of Pausanias that they carved on the stone the simple name of the deceased in the nominative without an added genitive of the father's name, followed by *Xaίρε*, though by no means a phenomenon confined to Sicyon, is nevertheless illustrated by two fragmentary epitaphs found by Earle³¹ on the site of Sicyon.

After crossing to the west side of the Asopus and noting to his right the Olympieum and the grave of the Athenian comic poet Eupolis³² on the left, our guide turns and proceeds in the direction of the city past the tomb of Xenodice and graves of the Sicyonians who fell in battles waged by the Achaean League. Pausanias' remarks about the tomb of Xenodice, a woman who had died in child-birth, that it differed from tombs in the usual Sicyonian style in that it was specially adapted to suit the painting adorning it, are of considerable interest for Sicyonian art. By a somewhat extended course of reasoning from the form of the beautifully painted grave stelae from Pagasae in Thessaly,

28) II, 7,2 ff. 29) Arvanitopoulos, *Praktika*, 1908, p.150. 30) Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *J.P.S.* VI, 1885, p.77 with Pl. H, I and II; Frazer *Faus.* III, p.46, fig.16. 31) *Cl. Rev.* VI, 1892, pp.134 f. 32) Not the famous poet of the old comedy. cf. Hitzig-Elümner, *Jaus.* I, 2, p.521.

and from the process of painting practised by the Sicyonian Iausias, and from the identity of theme of Xenodice's tomb at Sicyon and that of one represented at Fagasaë, Arvanitopoulos, who has most fully investigated the matter, has concluded that a number of the Fagasæan monuments were painted by Sicyonian artists of the Hellenistic period.³³

Approaching from the northeastern side of Sicyon, and designating the gate through which he enters the city as being at a spring in a grotto, called the Dripping Spring,³⁴ Pausanias goes directly across the ledge of rocks dividing the lower from the upper level and ascends to the second or later acropolis. From here on his description follows a strict topographical sequence³⁵--the new acropolis--the new agora--the old acropolis--the old agora. From the acropolis of his day on the higher level he proceeds to the north observing on the rocky slope the theater and Dionysium. As he passes from the Dionysium along the street leading to the agora he sees on the right a temple of Artemis. Having entered the new agora he describes as standing there the greatest number of buildings and statues. From the agora he digresses in his course to the gymnasium not far from the market-place, then to temples of Asclepius and Aphrodite and finally to the gymnasium of Clinias. Thence he proceeds to the old acropolis on which he describes the most ancient monuments of the Sicyonians as standing. From the old acropolis he goes down into the plain to the old

33) This is discussed more fully in the chapter on the painters of Sicyon, pp. 131 ff. 34) II, 7,4. The Dripping Spring has never been identified with certainty. Bursian, Geog. II, p.27 n.2 places it in a gorge west of Vasilikó; Frazer, Paus. III, p.48, both because of the natural formations and the fact that Pausanias came from Corinth, has reasons for placing it near the northeast side of Sicyon. Earle, A.J.A. V, 1889, p.287 thinks it was the present spring, Mikre Prysia, north of Vasilikó where dripping can be heard through the Turkish wall. Yet a spring of the nature Pausanias saw may not exist there today due to the falling in of the roof and rocks because of earthquakes as Curtius, Pelop. II, p.448 thinks. 35) Robert, Pausanias als Schriftsteller, p.118 chooses Sicyon as a classical example of Pausanias' acropolis-type of topographical description.

agora with its three ancient temples and with that the tour of the city is completed.



Sketch of the site of Sicyon.³⁶

We now return to the acropolis. Here Pausanias notices the two temples of Fortune of the Height and of the Dioscuri, in both of which the images were of wood.³⁷ On Sicyonian coins of Imperial times³⁸ Tyche Acoraia is represented standing and holding a patera and cornucopia, but of the temples only a few fragments of the foundations remain.³⁹ And since Pausanias mentions but two temples here and so few foundations appear it is most probable that there was never a great number of buildings on the upper acropolis.

Regarding the theater at Sicyon Pausanias⁴⁰ merely states that it stands at the foot of the acropolis and that on the stage is the statue of a

36) The sketch is drawn from plans given by the following: Curtius, Pelop. II; Leake, Travels in the Morea, III and that of the French commission in Smith's Dictionary. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the orientation. The only building whose orientation is certain is the theater. cf. Fossum, A.J.A. IX 1905, p.272 and Pl. VIII. 37) II, 7,5. 38) Imhoof-Plumer and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.77 with pl. H, III. 39) So Curtius, Pelop, II, p.491. 40) II, 7,5.

man with a shield said to represent Aratus, the son of Clinias. The mere notices that it was filled by a concourse of people on the morning after Aratus' night surprise on Sicyon in 251 B.C.⁴¹ and that it served as the assembly-place for a meeting of the Achaean League⁴² in 168 B.C. are the only other literary references to it from ancient times. Still the scanty ancient allusions are compensated for to a greater extent in the case of the theater than any other building in Sicyon, for of all the ruined structures there it has always been the most conspicuous and has been often described.⁴³ Moreover its excavation by the Americans in comparatively recent times has in part revealed its architectural structure and made it possible to fix approximately the date of the building.⁴⁴

Here as in other places the architect adapted the natural configuration of the ground to suit his purpose and excavated near the western cliffs a slight hollow in the rocky declivity separating the upper from the lower tableland and faced the structure to the northeast thus affording the spectator the beautiful view of the waters of the gulf to the north and of the mountain peaks beyond. Its total breadth was about 400 feet. The seats are mostly cut out of the rock but only a few of the lower tiers of the northern half have been uncovered. The front row of seats, a series of stone benches of poros with backs and arms, are decorated with scroll work on the outer side of the arms of each bench and show by their superior construction that they were honor seats for priests or other officials resembling, in this respect, the Dionysiac

41) Plut. Arat. 8. 42) Polyb. XXIX, 10, 2. 43) Especially by Leake, Travels in the Morea, III, pp. 369-371; Curtius, op. cit. II, pp. 489 ff.; Pausanias, Geog. II, pp. 27ff. 44) Cf. McMurtry, A.J.A. V, 1889, pp. 267-286 with Pl. VI, VII, IX; Earle, A.J.A., V, 1889, pp. 286-292; ibid. A.J.A. VII, 1891, pp. 281-282; ibid. A.J.A. VIII, 1893, pp. 388-396 with Pl. XIII; Brownson and Young, A.J.A. VIII, 1893, pp. 397-409 with Pl. XIII; Fossum, A.J.A. IX, 1905, pp. 263-276 with Pl. VIII, IX.

theater at Athens. The total number of tiers of seats, about sixty in all,⁴⁵ was divided vertically, at least in the excavated section, into fifteen wedges by sixteen stairways. Horizontally the auditorium was divided into three sections by two diazomata. Access to the lower diazoma was through two vaulted passages that penetrate the sides of the auditorium. The upper section was reached by going around the ends. The original length of the southern passage was about 16 m., the width 2.55 m. Since they stand to a height of six courses on either side, exclusive of the keystone course, and are built of rectangular blocks laid without mortar these vaults are today important specimens of true Greek arches.

The orchestra, comprising somewhat more than half the circumference of a not entirely perfect circle, the diameter of which was 24.04 m.,⁴⁶ had a surface consisting simply of stamped earth. An elaborate drainage system was devised. Running around the orchestra in front of the honor seats is a carefully constructed drain about 1.25 m. wide and 1 m. deep bridged by a slab of stone opposite each of the stairs to give access to the seats as in the Dionysiac theater at Athens. At both ends of this water canal seems to have stood an altar or fountain which discharged its waste-water into a shallow drain crossing the orchestra parallel to the proscenium wall and emptied into a third drain which extended right across the centre of the orchestra at right angles to the stage buildings under which it passes and debouches somewhere to the right, probably into one of the old subterranean waterways of the plateau. From the square basin in the middle of the orchestra where the drains intersect extending back to a point under the stage buildings, is an underground passage terminating in a staircase of which some steps are preserved. This passage has usually

45) Fossum, l.c. p.264.

46) Fossum, l.c. p.265. See plate VIII for the plan.

been thought to have been used to allow actors to pass unseen from the stage to the middle of the orchestra in the manner of the Charon stairs at Eretria and Magnesia on the Meander.⁴⁷

Fossum's excavation of the lower parts of the existing stage buildings and the abutting foundations on the east and west sides of the stage revealed remains of both the parascenia, the double gateway of the west ramp and parodos and made possible the approximate dating of the earliest structure. Stone ramps cut from the native rock leading up to a height of 3.25 m. to the proscenium points to the conclusion that the height of the proscenium⁴⁸ was eleven Roman feet, conforming to the mean of the rule of Vitruvius (V, 7, 2) that the podium is not to be less than ten nor more than twelve feet high. Back of these another pair of ramps led into the second story of the scene-building. Most important was the finding of stone supports for the older proscenium which necessitates the discarding of the old theory of a wooden proscenium, while the finding of the older remains of half-columns is evidence for the continuance of the first proscenium until the time of Roman reconstruction.

Regarding the date of the theater there is difficulty in forming an opinion. The literary allusions to it refer to events in 251 B.C. and 168 B.C. while its mention by Pausanias may be referred to about the middle of the second century of our era. Fossum⁴⁹ has proved as a terminus ad quem the year 303 B.C. when Sicyon was moved to the plateau of the former acropolis and rebuilt on a regular plan with streets crossing at right angles. Since it stands neither parallel with the streets nor at an angle of forty-five degrees

47) So Dörpfeld and Beisch, Das Griechische Theater, p.120. But Fossum, in a book soon to appear, believes that the passage had to do only with the drainage.

48) Cf. Fossum, l.c. pl. IX for a reconstruction. 49) l.c. pp.271 f. This has evidently escaped the notice of Neugebauer, Studien über Skopas, p.75.

to them the conclusion is that the theater stood there before 303 B.C. This date is confirmed by a comparison of its architectural features with the theater at Epidauros. From similarities of construction it is evident that the architect of the one was familiar with the other, but the antiquated forms of the water canal and other features show that the theater at Sicyon was the earlier one, thus bringing it well into the fourth century. Its Roman rebuilding probably dates from the period after the destruction of Corinth when a part of Corinthia was given to Sicyon and the city gained in political significance.

The next point of interest in this vicinity are the remains of the stadium which Pausanias does not mention. In the rocky slope west of the theater a natural recess was partly excavated for its upper or semicircular end. It has not been excavated so I quote below the observation of Leake:⁵⁰ "The stadium resembles that of Messene, in having had seats which were not continued through the whole length of the sides. About eighty feet of the rectilinear extremity had no seats, and this part, instead of being excavated out of the hill like the rest, is formed of factitious ground, supported at the end by a wall of polygonal masonry, which still exists. The total length, including the seats at the circular end, is about 680 feet, which, deducting the radius of the semicircle, seems hardly to leave a length of 600 Greek feet for the line between the two metae. It is very possible, however, that an excavation would correct this idea; for it is difficult to believe that there was any difference in the length of the line of the *dromos*, or course, in the several stadia of Greece, however dissimilar the stadia may have otherwise been in magnitude, or in their capacity for containing spectators. If the length of the course had ever varied, it must, I think, have been alluded to in some of the ancient authors." It would be interesting to know in view of the Pythian games

50) op.cit. III, p.370.

founded by Cleisthenes at Sicyon,⁵¹ whether the agonistic celebrations connected with them took place at this stadium.

Designating the locality as being beyond the theater Pausanias⁵² notes a temple of Dionysus with an image of the god in gold and ivory and beside it female Bacchantes in white marble. The nearness of this temple to the theater shows that here as in so many Greek cities the theater belonged to the sacred precinct of Dionysus. If the temple that Pausanias saw was the temple of the god to whom Cleisthenes gave the tragic choruses taken from Adrastus⁵³ he was viewing here a very ancient landmark. The temple has not been found but Leake⁵⁴ saw the basis of a column, together with that of one of the antae, of a small temple. He thought that this may have been part of the temple of Dionysus. Sicyonian coins of Imperial times represent Dionysus standing, holding a goblet and a thyrsus, with a panther at his feet.⁵⁵ On the coins of Julia Domna in Sicyon there occurs a frenzied Bacchante which Imhoof-Plumer and Gardner⁵⁶ have pointed out as reproducing one of the marble Bacchantes seen by Pausanias beside the image of Dionysus. Furtwängler⁵⁷ was the first to recognize that the Bacchante copied on Sicyonian coins agreed so well with the epigrams describing the Maenad of Scopas that he suggested that that famous work, not assigned by tradition to any special place, may have belonged to Sicyon. In this view he is supported by Six⁵⁸ who further contends from a study of the Dresden torso and a Maenad relief in Copenhagen that Scopas made more than one Maenad in Sicyon but that the superiority of the one destined it to win fame by being copied on its coins.

Excavations on the lower plateau at various points, not easily determined from reports, have uncovered the remains of some ancient buildings. At

51) See chap. IV. 52) II, 7,5. 53) Herod.V, 67. 54) op.cit., pp.369,371.
55) Imhoof-Plumer and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.77 with Pl. H IV and V.
56) J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.78 with Pl. H VI, VII. 57) Masterpieces, pp.396-397.
58) Jahrbuch, XXXIII, 1918, pp.42 ff.

one of these points American operations⁵⁹ in 1886 cleared a floor, paved with slabs of black and white marble, of what must have been a building of elaborate construction. More recently at a point north of the theater Philadelphus has cleared a stoa dating from Macedonian times and on the slope of the acropolis, evidently east of the theater, a rock sanctuary and beside it a spring and cistern whence water was led in pipes to the city and especially to the agora.⁶⁰

Following the itinerary of Pausanias⁶¹ we proceed down on the lower plateau where, east and northeast of the theater, amidst the numerous foundations of buildings one can still see the outline of streets intersecting each other at right angles. It was probably on the principal one of these which apparently ran from southwest to northeast that Pausanias travelled past the temple of Artemis Limneia to the agora.⁶² Of the temple of Artemis the roof had fallen already before his visit and the image was gone, no one knew where. Now arrived at the market-place Pausanias comes to a sanctuary of Peitho, also without an image. The temple of Apollo near it was originally founded by Proetus but this, with its dedications--Meleager's spear and the flutes of Marsyas--had been destroyed by fire. The new temple which existed in the time of Pausanias had been erected, as well as the statue, by Pythocles who is probably the sculptor mentioned by Pliny⁶³ in the list of artists who revived the art of sculpture after Ol. 156. But whether the Imperial coins from Sicyon representing Apollo in citharoedic dress and holding the lyre reproduce the statue of Pythocles cannot be proved.⁶⁴ Apollo appears to have been an important deity in Sicyon; the hill of the archer Apollo is connected with the legend of the slaying of the Python there and on the festival of his purification a procession

59) McMurtry, A.J.A. V, 1889, p.281. 60) Ar. Eph., 1919, p.22. cf. I.C.H. 44, 1920, p.383 f. and J.H.S. 41, 1921, p.271. 61) II, 7,6. 62) Fursian, op.cit. II, pp.28-29. 63) N.H. XXXIV, 51. 64) Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.78.

of boys and girls went to the Sythas to offer supplication.⁶⁵ In Pausanias' day the festival was still observed and it is hard not to believe that we have in the coins peculiar to Sicyon for a period of 400 years the reproduction of a Sicyonian work of art representing one of these suppliant youths.⁶⁶ Pindar alludes to Apollo, and to the hill of Sicyon by the Asopus in his ode in honor of a victory at Sicyon in the chariot race by Chromius of Aetna in the lines:⁶⁷ 'But we shall arouse the sounding lyre and the flute to tell of the very prime of equestrian contests which Adrastus founded in honor of Phoebus by the stream of the Asopus.' In the time of Polybius there stood near the temple of Apollo a colossal statue of King Attalus I, ten cubits high, which the people set up out of gratitude, because he had ransomed for them the sacred land of Apollo at a great price. In 198 B.C. for other benefits they voted him a golden statue and an annual sacrifice.⁶⁸ Since the statue is not mentioned by Pausanias it is likely that it had disappeared by his time.

Near the temple of Feitho was a precinct consecrated to the Roman Emperors: it was once the house of the third-century tyrant, Cleon.⁶⁹ Leake⁷⁰ sought to identify the ruins of the large brick building of Roman date with this precinct, conjecturing that it was the palace of the Roman governor in the interval between the destruction of Corinth by Mummius and its restoration by J. Caesar, for during this period a great part of the Corinthian territory was attached to Sicyon as the capital. But the small arched doorways, large quadrangular windows, and the very small chambers within, some of which have semicircular ends, leads Frazer⁷¹ to think it rather contained public baths.

Before the precinct sacred to the Roman Emperors Pausanias⁷² sees the shrine of the hero Aratus, 'a man who achieved greater things than any Greek of

65) See Apollo in the chapter on Cults. 66) Cf. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, l.c.
 67) Nem. IX, 18. 68) Polyb. XVIII, 16. 69) Paus. II, 8,1. On Cleon see Chap. VI, p. 79. 70) Travels in the Perea III, p. 369-371. 71) Paus. III, p. 45 and V, p. 547. 72) II, 8,1.

his time.' We know from Plutarch⁷³ that the ancient law at Sicyon forbade burial within the city walls but the Sicyonians, moved by gratitude and admiration for their greatest statesman, obtained the permission of Delphi and interred him in the market-place where he was honored twice annually as the founder and savior of their city. Near it stood an altar to Isthmian Poseidon, and images of Zeus Meilichios and Paternal Artemis, the former resembling a pyramid, the latter a column.⁷⁴ They evidently date from the time when this was the acropolis of the old, before Demetrius made it the site of the new, city.

In this part of the agora was also the Puleuterium and the stoa of Cleisthenes.⁷⁵ About the latter we have only the knowledge that he built it from the spoils of the Sacred War in behalf of Delphi,⁷⁶ but of the Puleuterium enough has been recently uncovered to reconstruct a ground plan.⁷⁷ From the broken bases of sixteen interior columns on which the roof rested we know it was a hypostyle hall of rectangular form, and 25 m. in length on each side. Inside was a series of seats of poros on a slightly inclined floor with a semi-circular seat for the presiding officer. Though it was much smaller in size, it appears to have been similar in shape to the elaborately built Thersilion at Megalopolis and the celebrated Telesterion at Eleusis, so we can visualize, to some extent at least, the meeting-place of the Sicyonian Senate.

In a section which Pausanias⁷⁸ designates as being the open part of the market-place stood a number of statues and a temple. Of the bronze Zeus standing here, a work of the native Sicyonian Ivsippus, Pausanias gives no description but an imitation of the statue may be seen on a Sicyonian coin of the

73) Aratus, 53. cf. Polyb. VIII, 14 and Aratus in the chapter on Cults.

74) Paus. II, 9,6. 75) Paus. II, 9,6. 76) ibid. X, 37,6. cf. Chap. IV, p.52.

77) Philadelphus, *Arch. Ephe.* 1919, p.69. cf. *P.C.H.* 44, 1920, pp.383 f.; *J.H.S.* 41, 1921, p.271. 78) II, 9,6 f.

time of Caracalla⁷⁹ which represents the god undraped, standing and holding in his left hand a scepter and in his right a thunderbolt. Among extant statues a small bronze in the British Museum⁸⁰ will serve best to show how the Zeus in the market-place of Sicyon appeared. Regarding the rest of the objects described: a gilded Artemis, a sanctuary of Wolfish Apollo, bronze images of the daughters of Proetus, an image of Hermes of the Market,⁸¹ and a bronze Heracles by Lysippos, we know nothing further than that, as Pausanias says, they stood in the same part of the market-place.

Besides these buildings and statues was another edifice on the market-place, the Stoa Poecile. This was a painted Colonnade built for the Sicyonians by Lamia, the mistress of Demetrius and therefore probably built at the time when Demetrius moved the site of the city. In its time it must have been an important building as a gallery of paintings by Sicyonian artists for it was the subject of a separate work by the antiquarian Polemo.⁸² Its apparent loss of importance by Pausanias' time is due, I suspect, to the fact that by that time it had yielded what treasures of art it had to the Romans who probably carried them off to Rome.⁸³

Pausanias has now completed the tour of the market-place and proceeds to a gymnasium nearby in which is a stone image of Heracles. Since the topographical allusion 'near the agora' is vague and since no ruins of the building have been identified, it is not necessary to follow the guess of Curtius⁸⁴ who thought it was near the stadium and connected with it. We have more tangible evidence, however, in the case of the statue. In the museums of Europe are numerous replicas of heads of a youthful Heracles which, in spite of many varia-

79) Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1886, p.78 with Pl.H X. 80) No.275; Catal. Pl.VII. cf. Johnson, Lysippos, pp.81 ff. 81) The only representation of Hermes from Sicyon is a Hermes Criophorus on a coin. cf. Svoronos, Jour. inter. d'Arch. Numis. 16, 1914, pp.71-72. 82) Athen. VI, p.283b; XIII, p.577c cf. Curtius, op.cit. II, p.493. 83) Piny, N.W. XXXV, 127. 84) op.cit. II, p.494.

tions, go back to a common original. A copper coin of Sicyon now in the British Museum⁸⁵ and dating from the time of Geta represents Heracles, standing, holding apples and a club in his hands, and with the lion's skin over his left arm. Gräf⁸⁶ has contended that the coin represents an imitation of the Heracles of Scopas and that we furthermore have in a marble bust of the youthful Heracles in the British Museum⁸⁷ a Graeco-Roman copy of the statue by Scopas which stood in Sicyon, a contention in which he is supported by the opinion of other scholars.⁸⁸ Heracles appears to have been held in high esteem in Sicyon. Aside from the stone statue in the gymnasium mentioned above and his bronze statue by Lysippos in the agora, his was one of the statues made by the Cretan sculptors Dicoenus and Scyllis perhaps in the time of Cleisthenes.⁸⁹ We are yet to meet with two other statues to him, one of which was in his sanctuary. This sanctuary stood within an enclosure in a place not specifically designated by Pausanias but he tells us that the whole enclosure was called Paedize, that in its center stood the sanctuary of the hero and within the sanctuary a wooden image made by Iaphaas a Phliasian.⁹⁰

From the gymnasium in the market-place a street led to an enclosure sacred to Asclepius.⁹¹ Here was a temple of the god having on one side of the pronaos a sitting image of Pan and on the other side a standing image of Artemis. Enshrined within the cella was the beardless statue of the god done by Calamis,

85) Imhoof-Flumner and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.79 with Pl. H XI. 86) Röm. Mitt. IV, 1889, pp.189 ff. 87) Anc. Marbles, II, 46; Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculptures I, 1879, p.199,105; Marbles and Bronzes, Pl.21; Collignon-Faumgarten, Gesch. d. gr. Plastik, II, n.255, fig.120; Overbeck Gesch. d. gr. Plastik, II, p.25 fig. 142a. 88) Collignon-Faumgarten, op.cit. II, p.255; Reinach, Gaz. des beaux arts, III, 1890, pp.338 ff. In his Masterpieces, n.301 Furtwängler identifies a statue in the Louvre (Salle des Caryatides No.1524 pub. by Gräf, l.c. p.193) as copied from the coin of Sicyon which represents the Heracles of Scopas. 89) Pliny, N.H., XXXVI, 10. 90) Paus. II, 10,1. I follow Robert, Paus. als Schriftsteller, p.119 n.1 in thinking that this enclosure did not contain the gymnasium mentioned above. 91) Paus. II, 10,2.

in gold and ivory, holding in one hand a scepter and in the other the fruit of a pine-tree. Since on extant monuments Asclepius is generally represented as bearded, seldom as young, we can conclude from Pausanias' special remark that here as at Phlius and Gortys in Arcadia the god was conceived of as a youthful divinity.⁹² Within this precinct sacred to Asclepius there stood on the left as one entered, a building with two chambers; in the outer was an image of Sleep of which nothing but the head remained; the inner chamber was sacred to Carnean Apollo, whose priests only had the privilege of entering it. In the colonnade were statues of Dream and of Sleep, the latter surnamed Fountiful, lulling a lion to slumber.⁹³ Unhappily Pausanias does not tell us the names of the sculptors nor the characteristics of this group connected with the worship of Asclepius. Furtwängler's conjecture⁹⁴ that Scopas was the author of the Hypnos in the outer chamber is dependent on the hypothesis that the extant statues of Hypnos in Madrid⁹⁵ and the British Museum⁹⁶ are rightly attributed to Scopas, and has in its favor the fact that Sicyon was one of the few places where Hypnos was worshipped and the fact that we have already associated Scopas with the making of the Bacchante in the temple of Dionysus and the Heracles in the gymnasium.

Near the Asclepieum was a precinct sacred to Aphrodite with a statue of Antiope within.⁹⁷ But the main object of interest was the sanctuary of Aphrodite with her cult statue. Only two females were permitted to enter the sanctuary, every one else, without distinction, might only view the goddess from the entrance and pray to her from there. Her seated statue, wrought in gold and ivory, representing the goddess as carrying a 'polos' or firmament on her head, and in one hand a poppy and in the other an apple was the work of the

92) Wroth, J.H.S. IV, 1883, p.49. 93) Pausanias may here be referring to the type of Hypnos sleeping on a lion which is known by later copies. cf. Furtwängler, Masterpieces, p.396, n.5. 94) Masterpieces, p.396. 95) Cf. Roscher, Lex. I, 2, p.2847. 96) Marbles and Bronzes, p.7, fig.4 and Pl.40. 97) Paus. II, 10, 4.

native Sicyonian Canachus. Farnell⁹⁸ regards this as the most striking representation that we have in the archaic period of Aphrodite Urania, the divinity of vegetation, of fruits and flowers so well suggested in the symbols which Canachus attached to his temple-image.

On the right of the street as one left the Aphrodisium stood a sanctuary of Pheraean Artemis.⁹⁹ Her wooden image, said to have been brought from Pherae in Thessaly is probably the figure imitated on Sicyonian coins of the reigns of Geta and Caracalla which represent a goddess in long mantle with torches in her raised hands.¹⁰⁰ Ascending to a somewhat more elevated place one found the gymnasium of Clinias which was still used in Pausanias' time for the training of boys and contained herm-like statues of Artemis and Heracles.¹⁰¹ It is evident that this gymnasium was entirely different from the one previously mentioned for the description of Pausanias shows that he proceeds uninterruptedly from the acropolis on the south and northward toward the sea.¹⁰² Leaving the gymnasium he turns into a street leading to the Sacred gate¹⁰³ on the north, and describes a group of the most ancient monuments of the city. He is now no doubt on the original acropolis since he elsewhere states¹⁰⁴ that the ancient acropolis occupied the site where the temple of Athena was in his day. The group here¹⁰⁵ included an altar remaining of the large and splendid temple of Athena which had been

98) Cults of the Gr. States, II, p.679. cf. Chap. X, pp.160 ff. Furtwängler sees in it traces of a work of art from Mycenaean times. cf. Antike Gemmen, II, pp.9-10. Pl. II, 20; Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. de la sculp., I, fig. 23; Evans, J.H.S., XXI, 1901, p.108, fig. 4 and cf. p.175. 99) Paus. II, 10,7. 100) Imhoof-Flumner and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.80 with Pl. H. ~~XXII, XXIII, XXX~~ 101) Paus. II, 10,7. 102) Curtius, op.cit. II, p.495, Fursian, op.cit. II, p.30; Leake, op.cit. III, pp.361-363 identify two gymnasia; Kalkmann, Pausanias der Perieget, p.68 maintains they were the same. 103) On the north according to most topographers. cf. Curtius, op.cit., II, pp.495-6; Leake, op.cit., III, p.372. Clark, Pelop., p.343 places it on the southern side. 104) II, 5, 6. 105) Paus. II, 11, 1.

burned; in front of it a barrow sacred to Epopeus, and near it statues of the Averting Gods. Neighboring the latter was a sanctuary to Artemis and Apollo, another to Hera erected by Adrastus, in neither of which were statues left on Pausanias' visit. Behind the temple of Hera were altars sacred to Pan and the Sun.

On the street descending from the old acropolis to the agora of the old city in the plain stood a temple of Demeter named Epopis¹⁰⁶ from the position it occupied high over the plain below. Close to the Heroum founded by Adrastus on the old acropolis were ruins of the temples of Carnean Apollo and Hera Pro-dromia, the latter of which was said to have been founded by Phalces, the son of Temenus. On the site of the old city in the plain Pausanias records nothing and the ruins there today do not appear to be very extensive. At some point between the town and harbor, a place which I have previously discussed, stood a ruined temple of Hera without a statue and on the road from the harbor to Aristonautae on the west before crossing the Helisson, one could see above and to the left of the road a sanctuary of Poseidon.¹⁰⁷

The district of Sicyonia was comparatively small, consisting mainly of the valley of the Asopus which in its upper course is confined between mountains but near the sea it opens up into a wide plain, called Asopia.¹⁰⁸ Modern scholars¹⁰⁹ estimate its area at from 360 to 400 square kilometers. Natural boundaries confined the territory on three sides, the Corinthian Gulf on the north, the Nemea river on the east,¹¹⁰ and the Sythas on the west.¹¹¹ On the south it was bounded by the territories of Phlius and Cleonae. Among the streams

106) Paus. II, 11,2. cf. Chap. X s.v. Demeter. 107) Paus. II, 12,2. 108) cf. p. 1 and n.3 and p. 27. 109) Feloch, *Klio*, VI, 1906, p.57; Cavaignac, *Klio*, XII, 1912, p.274. 110) Strabo, VIII, 382; Livy, XXXIII, 15. Contrary to expectation Pausanias does not mention it where we expect it in II, 5,5; 5,6 or 7,2. 111) Paus. II, 12,2; VII, 27,2. cf. II, 7,7 and 8. Ptolemy, *Geog.* III, 14,28 calls it Sys.

in this district besides the already mentioned Nemea, Asopus and Sythas or modern Trikkala,¹¹² were the Helisson,¹¹³ immediately west of Sicyon, and the unidentified streams, the Cephissus¹¹⁴ and Selleis.¹¹⁵ The chief dependency of Sicyon was Titane¹¹⁶ which lay sixty stadia to the south on the left bank of the Asopus and whose main claim to importance was an ancient and much frequented sanctuary of Asclepius.¹¹⁷ Ephyra¹¹⁸ on the Selleis, and Plataea,¹¹⁹ the home of the poet Menaeceus¹²⁰ were two demes on sites yet unidentified. Probably toward the west between Aegira and Pellene lay the town Donussa¹²¹ which once belonged to the Sicyonians but was at some unknown time destroyed by them. The town was certainly outside historical Sicyonian territory. On the eastern and southern frontiers were mountain fortresses. Epieiceia,¹²² the scene of warfare between the Lacedaemonians and the allies in 394 and 392 B.C., is conjectured to have stood somewhere in the valley of the Nemea between Cleonae and Corinth. Derai,¹²³ was another fortress whose location is not definitely known.

112) Curtius, op.cit. II, pp.492,498; Fursian, op.cit. II, pp.314,341. 113) Paus. II, 12,2; Stat. Theb. IV, 52. cf. Curtius, op.cit. II, pp.483,496; Philippson, Der Peloponnes, p.119. 114) Ptolemy, fr.81; Str. IX, 424; Schol. Eurip. Medea, 835. 115) Str. VIII, 338. cf. Eust. on Il. p.301,2. Curtius, op.cit. II, p.499 thinks that a stream flowing into the Helisson near Suli was the Selleis or the Helisson itself was another name for the Selleis. 116) Paus. II, 11,3; 12,3; 23,4; VII, 23,8. cf. Eust. on Il. p.332,33. Its site, a few minutes north of Voivonda, was identified by Ross, Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland, pp.50 ff. Cf. also Curtius, op.cit. II, pp.500-503; Fursian, op.cit. II, pp.30 ff. It was not above Liopesi as Leake, op.cit. III, p.534 thinks. 117) Paus. II, 11,5; 27,1 and VII, 23,8. cf. Odelberg, Saera Corinthia, Sicyonia, Philiasia, pp.93 ff. 118) Str. VIII, 338. cf. Eust. on Il. p.301,2. Ross, op.cit. p.56 places its ruins near the present Suli, west of Sicyon. 119) Str. IX, 412. Curtius, op.cit. II, p.505 thinks it stood opposite Sicyon on the Asopus. 120) Cf. Prosopographia Nos. 206-20 121) Paus. VII, 26,13. cf. II, 4,4; V, 18,7. It is usually identified with what is now called Mt. Koryphæ, a pointed and isolated mountain, 2400 ft. high, rising abruptly near the coast between Aegira and Pellene, about 4 mi. west of Xylokastro. cf. Leake, op.cit. III, pp.220,385; Fursian, op.cit. II, p.343; Curtius, op.cit. I, p.485, II, p.498; Lolling in Hell. Landeskunde und Topog. pp.162,167; Bölte in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Gonussa No.3. Von Duhn, Ath. Mitt. III, 1878, p.61 conjectures it may have been on Cape Aego, about 5 mi. west of Mt. Koryphæ. 122) Xen. Hell. IV, 2,14; IV, 4,13. Cf. Leake, op.cit. III, p.375 and Curtius, op.cit. II, p.504. 123) Xen. Hell. VII, 1,22.

Curtius¹²⁴ conjectures it stood on the eastern part of Asopia guarding the road to Corinth. That Phoebia was a Sicyonian town captured by Epaminondas we are informed by Pausanias,¹²⁵ and Stephan of Byzantium (s.v. Φοιβία) mentions it as such. The same geographer mentions a Euphia (s.v. Εὐφία) as a Sicyonian village on the authority of Ephorus. Ross¹²⁶ thinks they are identical and identifies them with some ruins of an ancient Greek fortress situated on a height projecting into the valley of the Nemea from the west, exactly opposite the mountain Apesas. Thyamia, it is evident from the narrative of Xenophon,¹²⁷ lay towards the southern frontier between Sicyon and Phlius and was the scene of warfare between the two states in 366/5 B.C.

Regarding the population of Sicyon in ancient times it is impossible to arrive at more than a mere estimate. At the battle of Artemisium they had twelve triremes,¹²⁸ a number which was augmented to fifteen at Salamis.¹²⁹ Their military contingent at Plataea was 3000 hoplites¹³⁰ while their number at Mycale is not given.¹³¹ At Nemea in 394 B.C. they had 1500 hoplites.¹³² The statement of Diodorus¹³³ which Feloch¹³⁴ has emphasized so much, namely that Pericles in 453 B.C. with only a thousand Athenian hoplites routed the whole citizen body and besieged the city, is certainly wrong as shown both by the words of Thucydides¹³⁵ and the evidence of Diodorus himself in recording Pericles' unsuccessful siege of Oeniadae immediately after. Though scholars are not agreed as to the reliability of figures regarding the military strength of the Greek states as given especially by Herodotus and Xenophon, still an estimate can be

124) op.cit. II, p.504. 125) IX, 15,4. 126) op.cit. p.40. cf. Fursian, op.cit. II, p.31 n.2. Leake, Pelop. P.401 identifies it with a fortress on Mt. Tricaranum mentioned by Xenophon Hell. VII, 2,1. 127) Hell. VI, 2,1 and 23; VII, 4,1 and 11. cf. Ross, op.cit. p.41; Leake, op.cit. III, pp.375-376; Curtius, op.cit. II, p.491. 128) Herod. VIII, 1. 129) Ibid. VIII, 43. 130) Ibid. IX, 28,31; Diod. XI, 32,1. 131) Herod. IX, 102,103,105. 132) Xen. Hell. IV, 2,14. 133) XI, 88. 134) Fehling, Die Griech.-Röm. Welt, p.119. 135) I, 111,2. cf. Fusolt, Gr. Gesch. III, 1, p.335 n.1 and Kromayer, Klio, III, 1903, p.203 n.4.

struck on the basis of their figures as Peloch¹³⁶ has done who thinks that Sicyon had a military force of from 1700 to 2000 hoplites. I am disposed to think, however, that at a critical time like the Persian War that number was much increased.¹³⁷ As to the entire population, exclusive of slaves, Cavaignac¹³⁸ estimates, on the basis of one hoplite to eight free citizens, that in the period of the Persian War, the entire body of free citizens was about 24,000 to 25,000 men.

136) Klio VI, 1906, pp.55 ff.
Beiheft XII, 1913, pp.65 ff.

137) cf. Obst, Der Feldzug des Xerxes, Klio,
138) Klio XII, 1912, p.274.

CHAPTER II.

The Natural Products, Industries and Commerce of Sicyon.

The long-continued material prosperity of Sicyon was derived from the fertility of its soil and its industrial activity. The level crescent-shaped plain from Sicyon to Corinth, a dozen miles in length and two or three in breadth, lay, for approximately half its length, under Sicyon's natural command eastward to the Nemea river.¹ This stretch of land, a whitish marl formed by the deposits of fine detritus brought down by the Achaean streams and the rivers of the opposite coast,² is praised in the highest terms by the ancient writers³ and such was its value that to possess what lies between Corinth and Sicyon became a proverbial expression for great wealth.⁴ Though the plain produces in abundance in modern times as well⁵ it would be wrong to infer from that and the statements of the authors quoted above that it surpassed in production every other part of the Peloponnesus. It was rather its proximity to the great maritime city of Corinth where its products were disposed of at profitable prices that so greatly enhanced its value. Great quantities of vegetables and fruits doubtless found their way down the road traversing the plain leading directly to the more populous city on the east. That it was a favorable place for gardening we are not left to judge from the list of products alone for Plutarch⁶ relates that it was in a market garden outside the wall that Aratus' scheme for the night surprise on his native city was nearly foiled

1) Str. VIII, 382; Livy XXXII, 15. cf. Chap. I, n.3. 2) Neumann-Partsch, Phys. Geog. v. Griechenland, p.353; Leaf, Homer and History, p.238; Philippon, op.cit., p.118. 3) Livy XXVII, 31,1; Cicero, De lege agraria I, 2,5. 4) Athen. V, p.219 a; Rust. on Il. II, 572; Arist., Birds 968 and scholia; Lucian, Icaromenippus, 18; ibid., Navigium, 20; Suidas, s.v. ἡ τὸ μέσον κτηνολογικὸν ἡμετέρον καὶ Σικυωνέας; Diogen. v. II, 60; Macar. III, 58; Zenobius III, 57; Libanius, epist. 374. 5) Cf. Tlegen, A.J.A. XXIV, 1920, pp.10 ff. 6) Arat. 5, 7 and 8.

by a gardener's dogs and Diodorus⁷ tells us that even the higher acropolis which was well provided with an abundance of water, was made into cultivable land by the construction of market gardens.

The three foods that stood out above the rest as necessary to human existence -- 'the Mediterranean triad' of corn, wine and oil⁸ must have been produced there in large quantities. We have no specific mention about the growing of corn there but we know, as Zimmern says,⁹ that every Greek city grew, or tried to grow, its own corn. And the adjectives describing the Sicyonian plain like ἐὺφορος¹⁰, ἐὺφορὶστατος¹¹ and ἐὺδαίμων¹² would scarcely have been applied to it if it had not produced this staple article of diet. Additional evidence can be gleaned from the fact that after repeated devastations of their country in the latter part of the third century the greatest need of the citizens was filled by the delivery of 10,000 medimni of wheat to them by Attalus I.¹³ Of the second necessity, namely drink, Pliny¹⁴ says that next in esteem after the wines of Asia Minor was that of Sicyon. And from Athenaeus¹⁵ we have it that the water of Sicyon, like ^{at} Athens, was hard and that it was not good unless mixed with certain brands of wine. The third member of the triad -- the olive and olive oil -- they produced in liberal quantities as we learn from Pausanias,¹⁶ the Roman poets,¹⁷ and the travellers¹⁸ who have observed olive groves there in modern times. Aside from serving as the butter, soap and gas of antiquity, we know from Dioscorides¹⁹ that the Sicyonian oil, when properly prepared was used for certain medicinal purposes and as a cosmetic for women.

7) XX, 102. 8) Zimmern, The Greek Commonwealth³, p.49. 9) op.cit. p.50.
10) Suidas, s.v. ἐὺφορὶστατος καὶ ἐὺδαίμων. 11) Diogen. V., II, 60; Zenob. III, 57.
12) Eust. on Il. II, 572. 13) Polyb. XVIII, 16. 14) N.H. VII, 74. 15) I, p.33 o. 16) X, 32,9. cf. II, 6,3. 17) Vergil, Geor. II, 519; Ovid, Ibis, 317; ibid. Epist. ex Ponto, IV, 15,10; Statius, Theb. IV, 50. 18) Lodwell, Tour, II, p.202; Leake, op.cit. III, p.227. 19) Mat. Med. I, 30,5 (ed. Wellman).

The other chief articles of food of which we have specific mention are fish, cucumbers or gourds, almonds and pears. Athenaeus²⁰ says that Sicyon was famous for its fish, that a conger from there was of such size as to be a load for a man, and that in his epic on the art of cookery, Archestratus had given directions how best to prepare it. Another natural product ^{was the} ~~were~~ σίκυα, generally thought to be ^{the} cucumbers; hence the name Sicyon from the abundance of these vegetables there, as Eustathius²¹ explains. But Athenaeus,²² quoting from a book on vegetables by the Athenian Euthydemus, equates the word σίκυα with κολοκύνθη²³ the latter of which he explains was a gourd that came from southern India. He adds the significant statement that the Megalopolitans call the same the Sicyonian gourd. The plant σίκυα has not been identified definitely but in an article on ancient plant-names, Thielton-Dyer²⁴ attempts to do so showing that it was the bottle-gourd which when cleaned out could be used for many purposes. A very specialized instrument made from it, he thinks, was the 'cupping-glass' mentioned by Galen.²⁵ If that is so we can follow him in his conjecture from Athenaeus' statement about the Megalopolitans that a minor industry in Sicyon was the production of the bottle-gourd and its conversion into various articles including 'cupping-glasses'. Hesychius²⁶ mentions plums from Sicyon, and Athenaeus almonds²⁷ and colocasia²⁸ which was either an edible tuberous root or a sacred plant brought to Sicyon by Alexandrian Greeks and established near the temple of Athena; hence they called her Colocasian Athena.²⁹ The wild-thyme could be gathered on their mountains as the Athenians did on Hymettus,³⁰ and was twined and worn

20) I, p.27 d; VII, p.228 c; VII, p.293 f. cf. Keller, Die antike Tierwelt, II, p.360. 21) On II, p.1302, 19 f. 22) II, p.58 f. 23) Cf. Hesychius, s.v. σίκυωνία. κολοκύνθη. 24) Jour. of Phil. XXIV, 1918, pp.297 ff. 25) 19,137. 26) s.v. [σ]ίκυα. κολοκύνθη. cf. Athen. II, p.50 a; Eust. on II, p.1963, 33. 27) VIII, p.349 e. 28) III, p.72 b. 29) Thielton-Dyer, Jour. of Phil. XXXIV, 1918, pp.301 f. 30) Pliny, N.H. XIX, 172. cf. Athen. XV, 681 f.

instead of a veil by the phallophori in the theater.³¹ A fragrant garland called *ῥιζάνη* was peculiar to Sicyon³² and we have preserved to us the name of one who relied the trade of garland weaving, Glycera, the favorite of the painter Pausias.³³

Parts of their territory must have been a feeding ground for horses. Here it was that Aethe, of divine pedigree, was reared,-- the famous mare which was presented to Agamemnon thereby winning for her owner, Echeolus, his wish to remain in Sicyon -- and who, at the funeral games at Troy won the race for Menelaus.³⁴ It was horse-rearing Sicyonians who, according to one version,³⁵ picked up and nourished the foundling Oedipus. The names of the mythical kings, Zeuxippus, Leucippus, and Hippolytus, suggest breeders of horses. The famous tyrants of Sicyon won in the chariot races at Olympia and Delphi.³⁶ One of Demosthenes' charges against Meidias and his wife was their arrogance displayed in driving to the mysteries with a white pair from Sicyon.³⁷ And when Aratus engaged a band of thieves to help him put down the tyrant, Nicocles, he concealed his true purpose by representing to them that it was an adventure only to seize the tyrant's horses.³⁸

Behind the level tableland where Sicyon stood, rose mountains which must have been covered, to some extent at least, with timber. Pausanias saw at different places in Sicyonia the cypress,³⁹ the juniper,⁴⁰ and evergreen oaks,⁴¹ and Pliny⁴² speaks of its oak trees of remarkable size. The facts that it was the fleet of Cleisthenes which is reputed to have broken the power of

31) Athen. XIV pp.621 f., 622 c. cf. the paideros of Paus. II, 10,6 and Frazer, Paus. III, p.68. 32) Athen. XV, p.678 a. cf. Hesychius, [ε]ῖς ῥιζάνην ἔνδον
 33) Pliny, N.H. XXXV, 125. 34) Il. XXIII, 296 ff.
 35) Schol. Od. XI, 271. 36) Paus. VI, 19,2; X, 7,6; Herod. VI, 126. 37) c. Meidias, 565. Certainly only the animals and not the chariot, as often stated, came from Sicyon. 38) Plut. Arat. VI. 39) II, 11,6. 40) II, 10,5.
 41) II, 11,4. 42) N.H. XIII, 138.

Crisa in the Sacred War⁴³ and that both in the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars Sicyon managed to raise a respectable squadron of ships,⁴⁴ and that in the building accounts for the year 342/1 B.C. from the temple of Apollo at Delphi eight individual Sicyonians⁴⁵ are enumerated from whom wood was purchased for the rebuilding of the temple point to the conclusion that wood was available somewhere in the district of Sicyonia itself.

But Sicyon was not limited to agriculture merely. To be sure its general prosperity was dependent on it, but not to the extent that agriculture was the dominant interest of its people. It was also an industrial and commercial city. First of all, as Pliny⁴⁶ says, it was long the seat of important metal work. The presence today of copper ore in the mountains along the Asopus⁴⁷ and the rude mining and metallurgic scenes depicted on the numerous pinaces found near Corinth⁴⁸ bear witness that the ancients carried on here extensive operations both in the mining and working of metal. The famous weapons from Argolis and Corinth, and even many of the more artistic bronze productions of the Mycenaean age found in Argolis may have been made by craftsmen of Sicyon.⁴⁹ The prize at the Pythian games at Sicyon was of metal -- silver goblets according to Pindar.⁵⁰ Finally the Proto-Corinthian vases, many of which were made under the influence of metal patterns,⁵¹ and which are often assigned to Sicyon, as well as the inference from the long list of native sculptors who somewhere learned to cast their figures in bronze are additional evidence for the promi-

43) Paus. II, 9,6; X, 37,6; schol. Pindar, Nem. IX, 2. cf. Chap. IV. 44) Herod. VIII, 1; VIII, 43; Thuc. II, 9. cf. Chap. V. 45) Ditt. Syll. I³, 248 K² Col. I. The editor thinks the wood came from Cyllene on the south. 46) N.H. XXXVI, 9. 47) Flümner, Gewerbe und Künste bei den Griechen u. Römern, IV, p.63. 48) Cf. Furtwängler, Vasensammlung des Berl. Antiq. I, pp.47 ff. 49) Cf. Furtwängler and Loeschcke, Mykenische Vasen, Vorwort, p.XIV. 50) Nem. IX, 51; X, 43. Cf. Francotte, Bibl. Faculté Phil. et Lettres de l'Univ. de Liège, VII, 1900, p.91. 51) Cf. Fuschor-Richards, Greek Vase Painting, pp.34,41.

nence of an important industry in metal.⁵²

The making of vases must also have been an extensive industry if the remarkably fine pottery of the period of the Orthagorids -- the Proto-Corinthian ware -- can be assigned to Sicyon as the place of manufacture. On the strength of the literary notices that it was the place to which Cretan sculptors migrated,⁵³ that it was the birthplace of Greek painting⁵⁴ and seat of a great metal industry -- factors that are all accounted for in the characteristics of the Proto-Corinthian fabric with its clear style of figure representation, developed vase-shapes, and beautiful and delicate system of decoration suggesting the influence of metal patterns -- on the strength of these things most archaeologists now favor Sicyon as the place of its origin.⁵⁵ The fact that the war flooded most of Greece and the Greek cities of the East, and has been found in abundance in Italy and especially at the Corinthian colony of Syracuse denotes not merely its superiority but also the highly probable fact that the great mercantile center, Corinth, was the main distributor of the product.⁵⁶

With Corinth it also shares further distinction in other departments of ceramics. Tradition credits the Sicyonian, Eutades, with being the inventor of the red coloring of clay at Corinth thus indicating correctly the place, at least, where the clay and glaze color came about which marks the later Corinthian ware.⁵⁷ And the tradition which has it that the same Eutades also invented at

52) It is peculiar that for the large bronze dedication in the treasury at Olympia they imported copper from southern Spain perhaps through the intermediaries, Siris and Sybaris. Paus. VI, 19, 2 f. cf. Guiraud, *Bibl. Faculté de Phil. et Lettres de l' Univ. de Paris*, XII, 1900, p.30. 53) Pliny, N.H. XXXVI, 9 ff. 54) *ibid.* XXXV, 15. 55) Loeschke, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p.262; Dragendorff, *Thera II*, p.194; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, p.477; Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis*, *Klio*, siebentes Beiheft, pp.68 ff.; Fuschor, *Gr. Vasenmalerei*², p.46; *Vasenmalerei* p.34; Johansen, *Sikyonische Vaser*, pp.144 ff. The latter is the most recent and comprehensive study of them. 56) Fuschor (tr. Richards), *op.cit.* p.42. 57) Pliny, N.H. XXXV, 152. cf. Fuschor, *op.cit.* p.69.

Corinth terracotta reliefs as tile-fronts on the eaves of buildings which led to the making of acroteria on temples⁵⁸ has considerable foundation, as far as Corinth is concerned, as we know from the history of this industry at Corinth. But also in this Sicyon may share with her as Koch⁵⁹ believes, who from a study of the various types of roof-tiles and decorations has shown that one of the types prevalent before the later Corinthian style of the middle sixth century is represented best by the Heraeum at Argos. This type, he thinks, because of its characteristic style, its decoration and geographical distribution, can best be assigned to Sicyon.

A well authenticated industry in Sicyon was the making of shoes which were either transported or imitated elsewhere.⁶⁰ They were made especially for women⁶¹ so that men who wore them were called effeminate.⁶² Lucian⁶³ speaks of Sicyonian 'embas' of white felt which he recommends for rhetoricians who wanted to display their luxury. Yet their price was very low, only two drachmas, according to the courtesan in one of Lucian's dialogues.⁶⁴ Herondas⁶⁵ mentions them in a scene laid in Alexandria in the third century B.C.; they were esteemed in Rome in the last century of the Republic⁶⁶ and their reputation lasted till the end of classical times.⁶⁷ We also have recorded in Athenaeus⁶⁸ the notice about an anonymous tanner of Sicyon whom the musician Stratoniceus sharply rebuked. The lexicographer Pollux⁶⁹ says that the Sicyonians made a kind of head-gear which is generally thought to have been a cap of dogskin or weasel made

58) Pliny, N.H. XXXV, 152. cf. Fowler, A.J.A. VIII, 1893, pp.381 ff. 59) Röm. Mitt. 30, 1915, pp.106 f. 60) On the whole subject cf. K. Erbacher, Gr. Schuhwerk, esp. pp.7 and 19; Bryant, Greek Shoes in the Cl. Period, Harvard Stud. X, 1899, p.57 ff. esp. pp. 89-90. 61) Lucr. IV, 1125; Lucil. III, 53. cf. Vergil, Georg. 62) Hesychius, s.v. Σικουῦν; Cicero, de Orat. I, 54, 231; Eust. on Il. XXIII, 299; Athen. IV, p.155 c. 63) Rhet. praec. 15. 64) Dial. Meretr. XIV, 2. 65) Mime VII, 57. 66) Vergil, Ciris, 160. 67) Pollux VII, 93. 68) Clem. Alex., Paedag. II, 11, p.240 (Potter); Steph. Byz. s.v. Σικουῦν. 69) VIII, p.352 b. 69) X, 131. cf. Guhl and Koner, Leben d. Gr. u. Römer⁶, p.297.

with a visor in front. Finally the list of Sicyonian products must include the minor item of sling stones of lead;⁷⁰ one of those found bears on it the ironical inscription $\Lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon'$.⁷¹

A city possessing such fertile territory and engaged in various industries must also have developed its commerce.⁷² The large number of coins that have long been known⁷³ bear ample witness to its commercial activity--an activity that recent discoveries of coins tend to emphasize more and more.⁷⁴ But before considering the evidence of coins we will do well to consider briefly the greatness and prosperity of Sicyon in the time of her early tyrants.⁷⁵ It was in their time that Myron dedicated the immense bronze chamber which was later housed in the treasury at Olympia, that Cleisthenes commanded in the Sacred War, refounded the Delphic Pythia, dedicated the stoa in his native city, that the Cretan sculptors Dipoenus and Scyllis were engaged in Sicyon, and that the Sicyonian potteries saw their most flourishing period. Turning to foreign affairs we know it was Cleisthenes' fleet that ultimately broke the power of Crisa in the Sacred War in behalf of Delphi, and destroyed the naval power of the state controlling the starting-point of the sea-borne trade with the far West. Ure⁷⁶ has studied, from the economic viewpoint, the tyrants'

70) W. Vischer, Kl. Schr. II, pp.273 f.; Musée du Louvre, Les Bronzes Antiques (1913), p.99. 71) I.G. IV, 432. 72) Few will agree with the statement of E. Meyer, Ges. d. Alt. II¹ p.628 that "Sikyon ist keine Handelsstadt." 73) Some of the larger publications are in: Catal. of Gr. Coins, Fr. Mus., Pelop. pp.36-56; Head, Hist. Num.² pp.409-412; Babelon, Traite des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines I, 2, pp.816-822; Hegling, Gr. Münzen der Samml. Warren, pp.142-143; Macdonald, Gr. coins in the Hunterian Coll. II, pp.120-123. 74) Recent finds are 190 silver coins at Cardista in Thessaly, Svoronos, Αρχ. Δελτ. 1916, pp.329-335 with Pl. H'; 15 obols and 6 silver coins at Orchomenos in Boeotia. cf. Seltman, Temple coins of Olympia, pp.111-112; a find at Kyparissia. cf. Newell, Num. Notes and Monographs (pub. by Amer. Numis. Soc.) 3, pp.4 ff. cf. Seltman, op.cit. pp.111-113; 26 silver coins at Abae in Phocis, Yorke, J.H.S. XVI, 1896, p.302. 75) Cf. Chap. IV. 76) The Origin of Tyranny, pp.258 ff.

various activities and has sought to harmonize the bits of evidence, and shows that all of Cleisthenes' proceedings, particularly at the time when the Euboean commercial cities, Chalcis and Eretria, were on a decline, point to the conclusion that he had the definite design to change the old trade route from Crisa, Delphi, Thebes and Euboea, to one on which his own city and probably Athens should be the dominating points. Thus the policy of Cleisthenes both toward Delphi and Thebes was one of far-reaching commercial designs.

But when we come down to a later period we have the very definite evidence of coins. Sicyon was one of the first towns of the Peloponnesus to begin a coinage probably before 500 B.C. if the small coin now in Paris, thought to be an obol, can with certainty be attributed to this city.⁷⁷ It bears on the reverse a round incuse divided into four by crossing bars. Scarcely later than 500 B.C. a regular silver coinage appears; the rude incuse square is now replaced by an incuse square containing the letter Σ. After the conquest of Aegina by Athens in 431 B.C. and the consequent stopping of her coinage which had been most prevalent in the Peloponnesus, Sicyonian coins were issued in great quantities and became in fact one of the prevailing types in the Peloponnesus and continued so until the time of Alexander the Great. From about 325 to 251 B.C. bronze coins of Sicyon are numerous, some of them with a few letters of magistrates names.⁷⁸ After the time of Alexander when Polyperchon and Cratesipolis, the widow of Alexander, held Sicyon, a large number of tetradrachms were struck there, with the name and type of Alexander the Great. A hoard of them were found near Patrae in 1850. The symbols on them, such as Apollo holding a fillet behind his back, and the Chimaera show that they are undoubtedly Sicyonian. After 251 B.C. when Sicyon joined the Achaean League, bronze Aeginetic triobols were issued for

77) Catal. of Gr. Coins, Fr. Mus., Pelop. pp.XIII ff. Head, op.cit. pp.409 ff.
78) See Head, op.cit. p.410.

local use. Many of them preserve the names of local magistrates. Contemporary with them she issued silver and bronze coins of the Federal type.⁷⁹ Imperial coins exist from Nero to Geta and are of various types most of which have been quoted in connection with the discussion of the monuments in the first chapter.

The Σ , which frequently appears as their coin type, was the device of the city, and was placed by the Sicyonians on their shields.⁸⁰ The dove, also a type which is common on the coins, Eabelon⁸¹ thinks was chosen because it was sacred to Aphrodite whose sanctuary, we know, was one of the principal monuments of Sicyon. And judging from the statues of the Semitic Astarte where the dove is her most common emblem and from the symbols attached to Canachus' image of the goddess in Sicyon^{81a} we may well believe that monuments or ideas from the East were before the eyes and imagination of the Sicyonians when they adopted the dove as an emblem on their coins. We know the type was imitated on bracteated coins of Sparta⁸² and on the Ludovisi Throne and its counterpart now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.⁸³ The rather inartistic Chimaera, a lion-serpent-ram figure, is also common on these coins. Recalling that this being was the enemy of the Corinthians which Tellerophon slew, Svoronos⁸⁴ has sought to explain the Sicyonian adoption of the Chimaera by this that the Sicyonians, neighbors and often enemies of Corinth, preferred it because the monster was thought of as ravaging Corinth, thus symbolizing the commercial rivalry between the two cities.

The evidence regarding industry also points to some commercial activity. From an inscription found at Hermione⁸⁵ we learn that men from Sicyon were employed there in building activities. And from Delphi, apart from the one recording the purchase of wood from Sicyonians for the temple,⁸⁶ a long inscription mentions a Telephanes⁸⁷ who worked on the temple colonnade, while another records

79) Head, op.cit. p.417. 80) Xen. Hell. IV, 4. cf. p.68. 81) Traite, I, 2, p.819 f. 81a) cf. p.95. 82) B.S.A. XIII, p.165. cf. J.H.S. 27, 1907, p.289. 83) Studniczka, Jahrbuch, XXVI, 1911, p.62. 84) J.I. d' A. Numis. 16, 1914, p.147. 85) S.G.D.I., 3385. cf. Guiraud, l.c. pp.177 ff. 86) Att. Syll. I³, 248 K², Col. I. 87) Ditto. op.cit. 241. line 97; S.G.D.I. 2502 line 97.

the contract with the silver-smith Theomnestus,⁸⁸ who was also a contractor on the armory, and stoa of the gymnasium at Delphi.⁸⁹ In the meetings of the naopoioi at Delphi from 356 to 329 B.C. Sicyonians sat at eleven sessions:⁹⁰ Xenotimus at four, Euarmostos, Hiprarmus, and Crates at two each and Eustratus at one. And it may well be, as Cloche⁹¹ conjectures, that the amicable relations which evidently existed between Sicyon and Delphi as shown by their presence at the various sessions were due, above all, to economic considerations.

Finally, from the list of Sicyonians who were proxenoi we can infer that they had considerable commercial interests, at least as far as that institution served as the prototype of the modern consular system. The list⁹² includes Agathocles at Thespieae, Admatos, Callicrates, Theopompus and Somenes at Delphi, Theophrastus at Aegosthena in Megaris, Socles and Cleander at Olympia, Euphron at Athens, Menexenus at Thisbe in Boeotia, Andr..ia at Cleitor, and Mnasalces, probably the poet, at Oropus.

88) Ditt., op.cit., 250 F². 89) Ditt. op.cit., 250 D, 36 ff. 90) See under the following names in the Prosopographia. 91) F.C.H. 40, 1916, pp.78 ff. of. ibid. B.C.H. 44, 1920, pp.312 ff. 92) See under the following names in the Prosopographia.

CHAPTER III

The Heroic Age and the Dorian Ascendancy

Sect. 1. The Heroic Age

The story of the beginnings of Sicyon and the rule of the kings is told by Pausanias in the second book of his description of Greece. In remote times, so claimed the Sicyonians, they were the Aegialians, sprung from an autochthon Aegialeus who founded their city Aegialea¹ in the plain. This aboriginal population, an Ionian folk called πελασγοὶ Αἰγιάλειοι by Herodotus,² continued to inhabit this region till expelled by the Achaeans who retired northwards from Argolis, Laconia and Messenia at the coming of the Dorians before the first millennium before Christ. Finally the Dorians conquered their

1) The old name was Αἰγιάλεια, Paus. II, 5, 6; 5, 8; 6, 2; 7, 7. Strabo, VIII, 382 and Eust. on Il. II, 572 have Αἰγιάλοϊ. Αἰγιάλλος was the old name of Achaea, Paus. V, 5, 1; VII, 1, 1-4; Str. VIII, 383, and simply means 'coast-land' as Paus. VII, 1, 1; Schol. Il. II, 575 and Etym. Mag. s.v. Αἰγιάλλος explain. Paus. II, 5, 6 speaks as if the old name was still in use in his time. The name Aegialeia must have been applied to it because it was the chief town of the Aegialians. Cf. Paus. VII, 1, 1 and Hesych. s.v. Αἰγιάλειος. οἱ μετὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος στρατευσάμενοι πρότερον Ἴωνες. οὐκ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐν Σικυῶνι.

But not only Sicyonia (Paus. II, 6, 5) and all Achaea were called Aegialeia but even the whole Peloponnesus. cf. Etym. Mag. s.v. Ἀπρία; Schol. Il. I, 22; Syncellus, I, p.181 (ed. Fonn). The name evidently spread as in more recent times the name Morsea spread from Elis over the whole peninsula. cf. Curtius, Pelop. I, p.92 and p.113 n.39.

Other ancient names of the city were Mecone (see n. 4) and Telchinia (Step. Byz. s.v. Σικυῶν and Eust. Il. II, 572). For a time after 303 B.C. it was called Demetrias in honor of Demetrius Poliorcetes, see Chap. VI, n. 20. In the sixth century A.D. it was called New Sicyon, cf. Chap. VI, n. 71, and in Byzantine times Hellas. cf. Chap. VI, n. 72. The present Albanian village on the site is called Vasilikó.

2) VII, 94; I, 145. cf. Strabo VIII, 383; Paus. VII, 1, 1. cf. Kretschmer, Glotta, I, 1909, p. 12, n. 1.

city and from this blend of races the Sicyonians of history were sprung.

Of a Mycenaean settlement at Sicyon we have material evidence from the extreme end of the promontory jutting out to the east from the plateau on which stands the village of Vasili³. If we add to this the indirect evidence of physical geography, the evidence of Homer, and the argument from the survivals of the material civilization of the Mycenaean age, we may infer that there was here a Mycenaean habitation of considerable importance. That the rich agricultural district -- the plain between Corinth and Sicyon -- whose quality of soil was famous both in ancient and modern times -- marked it early as an attractive place for human abode, is proved by the fact that in this vicinity there ~~has~~ been found no less than a dozen prehistoric sites. The fertile plain near Sicyon would scarcely have been over-looked. Here at Mecone, as Hesiod⁴ says, Prometheus brought down fire from heaven, the first sacrifice was made and the sacrificial customs of the Greeks were instituted. Political geography tends to show the same high antiquity. The Sicyonian historian, whom Pausanias evidently followed, states that Agamemnon led an army against the city and made it subject to him and to Mycenae.⁵ In the Catalogue⁶ the men of Sicyon, under their king Adrastus, are marshalled to fight for Agamemnon at Troy. In fact, it may have been one of the chief towns of Agamemnon's realm.⁷ Mycenae was golden perhaps not because of the surplus of raw

3) Flegen, A.J.A., XXIV, 1920, p.10 with fig.8. Cf. Finnen, Die Kretisch--Mykenische Kultur, p.9. 4) Theog. 535 ff. The episode is ofcourse an aetiological attempt to explain the origin of later sacrificial customs. cf. Thomsen, Der Trug des Prometheus in Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft, 1909, pp.460 ff. That Hesiod means Sicyon we learn from Str. VIII, 382; Rust on Il. II, 572; Schol. Hinder, Nem. IX, 123; Schol. Il., XV, 21. Callimachus, fr. 195 refers to the city as Μηκωνην παραρπον ἑσπασαν ἀντὶς ἰδεν and the Etym. Mag. s.v. Μηκωνην assigns the origin of the name to the fact that here Demeter first found the poppy. For poppies there at the present time cf. McMurtry, A.J.A. V, 1889, p.268. Paus. II, 6, 5 does not seem to know of this name; he changes from Aegialea to Sicyon. On the name Sicyon cf. n.9. 5) Il, 6, 7. On Pausanias' source, Menaichmus, see Chap. XI, pp. 176-177. 6) Il. II, 572, cf. XXIII, 296. 7) Leaf, Homer and History, p.237 passim.

products it could export, nor because of the courage of its king, but the great source lay in trade and industry. It may be more than a shrewd surmise that the industries of Sicyon and Argos, whose clay and bronze products were destined, centuries later, to become the source of their fame were already in Mycenaean times developed and furnished no small part of those splendid relics of the Mycenaean age so widely diffused in Argolis.⁸ Perhaps the spade may one day determine the extent to which the prehistoric civilization flourished in Sicyon, but lacking that we must be content with the knowledge that a small site is actually known there, that its propinquity to numerous other prehistoric sites, its political geography and later artistic history point to a confirmation of an assumption of a very early occupation.

The list of the mythical kings of Sicyon is given by Pausanias as twenty-three in number before the Dorian invasion. From the antiochthon Aegialeus the rule passed from son to son through Europs, Telchis, Apis, Thelxion, Aegyros, Thurimachus to Leucippus. He being without sons bequeathed the throne to Peratus, his daughter's son by Poseidon. From Peratus the sceptre passed from son to son, Flem³æus, Orthopolis, Coronus to Corax who died childless. At this point tradition says Epopeus came from Thessaly and obtained the kingdom. In his reign a hostile army first invaded the land when the Thebans came to rescue the beautiful Antiope. Epopeus died from the wounds of battle and Iamedon, son of Coronus who succeeded to the throne surrendered Antiope. Iamedon took an Athenian wife, Pheno, daughter of Clytius and when Sicyon came from Attica to fight for him Iamedon gave him his daughter Zeuxippe to wife. When he

8) Cf. Furtwängler and Loeschke, *Mykenische Vasen*, Vorwort, p. XIV.

got the throne the city was named Sicyon⁹ instead of Aegialea. His grandson and successor Polybus gave his daughter in marriage to the king of Argos and when Polybus died Adrastus sat on the throne of Sicyon. On his restoration to Argos, according to Sicyonian tradition, Ianiscus, a descendant of Clytius, who was father-in-law of Iamedon, came from Attica and became King. After him follow Phaestus (who migrated to Crete), Zeuxippus, Hippolytus and his son Iacestades. It was in the reign of Hippolytus that Agamemnon made Sicyon subject to Mycenae, and in the reign of Iacestades Phalces with his Dorians seized Sicyon by night and shared the government with him.

Such, briefly, was the accepted tradition about the kings of Sicyon in the time of Pausanias. Any material of historical value I am unable to extract from it.¹⁰ The chronologists give us a somewhat different version. According to Eusebius¹¹ the annals of the kings of Sicyon were the most ancient in all Greece, their first King Aegialeus was contemporary with the Assyrian

9) From Str. VIII, 382 we learn the city had been called Aegialea (cf. n. 1) and Mecone (cf. n. 4). The name Σικυών was by the Sicyonians themselves pronounced Σικυών cf. Bekker, *Anec. Gr.* 555, 5. For coins with ΣΕ cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*² p.411. The latter spelling is found on the spear-head found at Olymnia, Roehl, *I.G.A.*³ p.48 No. 3, on a proxenoi decree from Pisa from 364 P.C., *Ditt. Syll.* I³, 171, and on a decree from Delphi 176-5 P.C., *Ditt. Syll.* II³, 585, l. 274. The tripod dedicated at Delphi in honor of Plataea does not have Σικυόνιος however as is often stated, but Σικυόνιος cf. *Ditt. Syll.* I³, 31. Σικυόνιος could be used according to Eust. on Il. II, 572 and Step. *Eyz. s.v.* Σικυών. The usual form of the name for the whole district is Σικυωνία though Xen. *Hell.* VII, 1, 22 uses τις Σικυώνα. The reg. adj. is Σικυωνίος, α, ον, Thuc. I, 28; Σικυωνικός or Σικυών, ἡ, ὄν. Athen. V, 196 E; VI, 271 D. The adv. Σικυωνίῳθεν, of or from Sicyon, *Find. Nem.* IX, 1; X, 43. The unusual form Σικυωνάθεν, *I.G.A.* 326 occurs on an inscription found in Thessaly. The name Sicyon was given the town no doubt on account of the great number of pumpkins or cucumbers grown there. The myth about an Athenian Sicyon originated probably at the time of the co-operation of the tyrant Cleisthenes with the Athenians in the Sacred War. 10) See Duncker, *Gesc. d. Alt.* v^o, p.70, "Historische Ausbeute gewährt die Sage von Sikyon nicht." How little can be done with it as historical material is shown by the attempt of Th. Kempen, *Lie Sagenk onige von Sikyon*, Progr. Clausthal, 1853. 11) *Chronic. I*, Vol. 1, pp.171 ff. ed. Schoene. Castor wrote a large work on the chronicles of the Kings of Sicyon and then published an epitome of it. Castor says Περὶ τῶν μὲν Ἑλληνῶν Παλαιότατοι τοῖς χρόνοις ἀναγράφονται Σικυωνίων.

kings Pel and Ninus. Hence he begins his chronology of Greece with a list of the kings of Sicyon. The claim is ofcourse an absurdity.¹² But the interesting thing in their list is that it differs from Pausanias in that, according to the chronologists, Zeuxippus was the last of the kings, and after him the government was carried on by the priests of Carnean Apollo, six of whom ruled in a space of thirty-three years. Then a seventh priest, Charidemus, succeeded; but being unable to support the expenses of his office he retired into exile.¹³ To explain this double kings' list and the divergence of the authorities, C. Frick¹⁴ in 1873 invented the hypothesis that the annals of the kings of Sicyon were redacted in the reign of the sixth-century tyrant Cleisthenes, and that the redactors purposely omitted the names of Hippolytus and Lacestades, in order to blot out the fact that Sicyon had been subject to Argos. The seven priests of the Carnean Apollo were a mere fiction of the redactors inserted in the annals to fill up the blank caused by the omission of two kings. But the truth was preserved, he thought, in oral tradition and Pausanias ascertained it by inquires on the spot. This hypothesis was further elaborated by Lübbert¹⁵ and most scholars¹⁶ have since followed this explanation. But doubt has always been felt regarding the reliability of assuming that an oral tradition, insulting to national feeling, could be preserved for twenty-three generations, even maintaining itself against the new redaction by Cleisthenes. Furthermore Cleisthenes' success at purging the list could not have been great for the revised list still contains the name of the Argive Adrastus against whose cult he warred (Herod. V, 67) and the new names Polyphides and Pelasgus remind one more of Argos than

12) E. Meyer, *Forschungen*, I, p.99, n.2. 13) Busch., *Chron.* Vol. I, p.176, App. pp.86, 216 ff. ed. Schoene. 14) *Neue Jahrbücher für Philol.*, 107, 1873, pp. 707-712. 15) *Diatriba in Findari locum de Adrasti regno Sicyonio*, Progr. Bonn 1884. *Ibid.*, *Commentatio de Pindaro Clisthenis Sicyonii institutorum censore*, Progr. Bonn 1884. 16) Kalkmann, *Pausanias*, p.149; Plümmer, *Faus.* I, 2, p.518; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I², p.665; Vogt, *Jahrb. f. Philol. Suppl.* 27, 1902, pp.752 ff.; Christ--Schmidt, *Gr. liter. Gesch.* 16, p.446, 2.

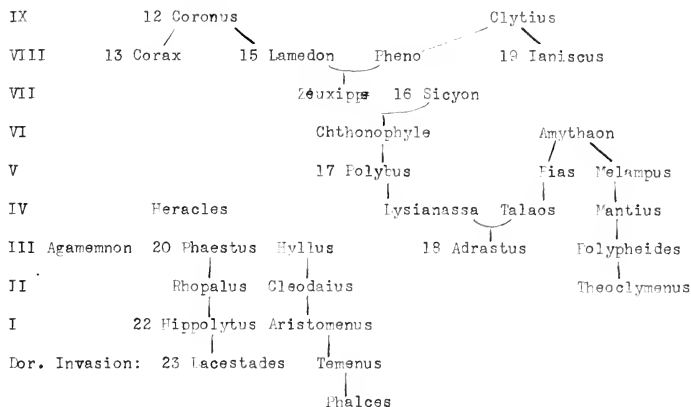
Hippolytus who was a Sicyonian (Paus. II, 6, 7; Plut. Numa, 4) and his son
Lacestades. The solution of the problem has only recently been presented in
an article by Pfister¹⁷ and since the results are of importance both for ancient
historiography and the local history and historian of Sicyon, I incorporate
below a part of the article.

"Pausanias gives for the last eleven names of the list: Corax, Epopeus,
Lamedon, Sicyon, Polytus, Adrastus, Ianiscus, Phaestus, Zeuxippus, Hippolytus, and
Lacestades. The chronologists: Corax, Epopeus, Laomedon, Sicyon, Polybus, Inachus,
Phaestus, Adrastus, Polyphides, Pelasgus, Zeuxippus, then thirty-three years of
priestly rule. Thereafter there follows in both cases the Dorian invasion. The
first five names are in both lists identical and given in the same succession.
Among the others three are the same in both, Adrastus, Phaestus and Zeuxippus;
only the order of succession differs. The three remaining names vary, and in
addition the chronologists give one more generation.

"If we examine closely the succession and the genealogy as given by
Pausanias and measure them by the rule of ancient chronology there are found at
once a series of errors. First of all he contradicts the statement that Agamem-
non came to Sicyon after the death of Zeuxippus and that the latter's successor,
Hippolytus, became subject to him. For since the death of Agamemnon was
chronologically fixed by the fall of Troy (according to Eratosthenes 1184), and
the Dorian invasion occurred three generations later, then the son of Hippolytus,
Lacestades, cannot be contemporary with the Dorian invasion if his father lived
at the time of Agamemnon as Pausanias says. Ianiscus, however, the nineteenth
king according to Pausanias, cannot possibly have ruled so late since he,
according to the genealogy, lived in the eighth generation before the Dorian
invasion. Still less consistent is the statement that Adrastus, who is of the

17) Rhein. Mus. 68, 1913, pp.529-537.

third generation before the Dorian invasion, ruled before Ianiſcus as the eighteenth king. This will be clearer when the ſucceſſion and the genealogy are graphically repreſented:



"From this it appears that it was purely chronological conſiderations which led to an alteration of the liſt. Becauſe of the impoſſibility of a relationship between Hippolytus and Agamemnon in the manner ſtated by Pausanias they aboliſhed the former and thereby exrunged alſo his ſon Iaceſtades. The name of Adraſtus they could not efface as he was already named king of Sicyon in the catalog. (Il. P. 572). Still he had to be placed later as in Pausanias. As a ſubſtitute for the ſtricken names they choſe Polyphides out of the Argive genealogical table and Adraſtus the great grand-ſon of Amythaon. The Argive Polyphides ruled in Sicyon at the time of Agamemnon, a fact which coincides with the evidence of the catalog of ſhips. But ſince Phaestus, Adraſtus, and Polyphides belonged to the ſame period and nevertheless were accepted as Sicyonian kings, their period of rule had to be greatly reduced: The chronologiſts therefore gave Phaestus eight years, Adraſtus only four, while otherwiſe a generation

is the average. Since thereby the period of rule of Phaestus, who was also a contemporary of Agamemnon, and his successors including the last one, Zeuxippus, occupied only a period of three generations (94 years according to Eusebius), there is lacking, when the Dorians captured Sicyon under Phalces' son Temenus, still one generation for which there was no name at hand, and for this reason they added here at the end a period of 33 years of rule by priests. Furthermore, Ianiscus naturally had to be discarded because he did not at all fit in with this part of the list because he lived much earlier. To replace him they chose, just as in the case of the stricken name Lacestades, an Argive name, Inachus, perhaps on account of its consonance, and Pelāgus, an indefinite name because of its frequency.

"The result is as follows: Since the local tradition of Sicyon as it is found in Pausanias was chronologically unacceptable to the chronologists who incorporated the ancient history of Greece in their universal histories, they were forced to reconcile this tradition with the established chronology. Thereby is explained the differences between Pausanias and the chronologists. And from this it is apparent that Cleisthenes cannot have been the author of the redaction. This is confirmed even by the fact that Argive names were accepted: Inachus, Polyphides and Pelagus. The redaction is thus shown to be a work of the chronologists. We find it first in the Athenian Apollodorus and in Castor; a Cleisthenic redaction is out of the question.

"That Pausanias received all his evidence from local tradition in Sicyon he often expressly says. Nine times in this short passage he uses the expressions Σικωνῖοι λέγουσιν — φασί — φησὶ — νομίζουσιν — λέγουσιν — λέγουσι — φασί — λέγουσιν — λέγεται.

We must think of a written, not an oral tradition. Lübbert (op. cit.) for good

reasons suggested Menaichmus,¹⁸ the Sicyonian local historian, as the source. In fact, the only fragment of this writer which comes into consideration, agrees with Pausanias but not with the tradition of the chronologists: Adrastus, the grandson of Polybus becomes the latter's successor in Sicyon. This also shows that Pausanias and not the chronologists give the local tradition. Naturally Pausanias need not have used Menaichmus directly; both may be derived ultimately from a Sicyonian chronicle."

Sect. 2. Sicyon under Argive Ascendency.

The heroic age of Greece may be said to have come to an end within two generations after the Trojan War. A dark period of about two centuries followed which were marked by the disappearance of the old civilization, by the expansion of the Greek race over the Aegean, and by wide political changes in the mother country.¹⁹ The only one of the features²⁰ of this epoch of which we have any record in Sicyon is the last--the change of its ethnic and political status wrought by the Dorian invasion. The conquest of Temenus, the eldest of the three Heraclids, originally comprehended only Argos and its neighborhood; from thence the occupation of Sicyon and Phlius were successfully accomplished. Pausanias²¹ relates of Sicyon that it was while Lacestades was king that Phalces, the son of Temenus, with his Dorians seized Sicyon by night, and from that time the Sicyonians formed part of Argolis. From Sicyon and Argos, according to the

18) On this historian see chap. XI. 19) Pury, Gr. Hist. 157. 20) Whether Sicyon ever attempted to colonize I am unable to say. Phaestus, one of its mythical kings is said to have migrated to Crete in obedience to an oracle and became the eponymus ancestor of that city (Paus. II, 6, 6). Golgoi, an unidentified site in Cyprus is said to have been a Sicyonian colony (Step. Fyz. s.v. Γολγοί) and a myth cited by Festus (p. 266 M. cf. Sanders. Cl. Phil. III, 1908, p. 317) states that colonists from Sicyon were among the settlers on the Palatine before the destruction of Troy. 21) II, 6, 7 and 7, 1. cf. Str. VIII, 389.

legend, the Dorians went up the valley of the Asopus and seized Phlius; Phlegonidas, the Dorian oicist of Phlius, was the son of Phalces.²²

On what terms the new element in the population--the Dorian as opposed to the non-Dorian--became established we are without information. One would suspect, however, that the pre-Dorian population was not entirely subdued. Beside the three Dorian tribes, the Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyli, a fourth tribe was formed from the older population bearing the old local name of the people of Sicyon and its environs, Aegialeis or Aegialeans.²³ Some of the population became a class of bondsmen whose names Corynenphori²⁴ and Catonacophori²⁵ have been preserved. Probably as Müller²⁶ says the first was a class of light-armed attendants in war, and the second a class always inhabiting the country. Put to the non-Doric tribe some civil and political privileges must have been accorded for it was from this tribe that the later family of the Orthagorids, of whom Cleisthenes was the most famous, raised itself to royal dignity and for a time subverted the existing Dorian ascendancy and arrogantly degraded the Dorian tribes by changing their tribe names and by elevating his own tribe by giving it the complimentary title of Ἀρχελαῖοι, or rulers of the people.²⁷

For a history of Sicyon from the time when it became Dorian down to the seventh century there is but fragmentary evidence. Tradition represents it as acting in close co-operation with Argos, a state whose ascendancy was derived not exclusively from her own territory, but in part from her position as metropolis of an alliance of autonomous neighboring cities, all Dorian and all colonized from herself. In mythical language she was the founder of Sicyon²⁸--

22) Paus. II, 13, 1. 23) Herod. V, 68. 24) Pollux, III, 83. cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρχελαῖοι δὲ κτλ. 25) Pollux, VII, 68. cf. Theopompus and Menelaichmus in Athen., VI, p.271 d. 26) Dorians, II, p.58 (Eng. tr.) 27) Herod. V, 68. cf. chap. IV, p.55. 28) Phalces conquered Sicyon, Paus. II, 6, 7 and 7, 1, and was worshipped as founder of the city Str. VIII, 389; Nicol. Dam. 38 and Paus. II, 11, 2.

in matter of fact. Sicyon was a confederate ally or subordinate of Argos. The supremacy need not have been claimed directly or openly, and the purpose of the alliance may have been ostensibly religious, yet in effect it must have been very real politically.²⁹ In the Messenian wars the Sicyonians were allies of the Argives and Messenians. In the first, dating from the last part of the eighth century,³⁰ the Sicyonians, having previously been the recipients of gifts from the Messenian king, Aristodemus,³¹ fought at the battle of Ithome.³² In the second war,³³ Messenians who had previously withdrawn to Sicyon returned with a contingent of Sicyonians.³⁴

Yet the coherence of Sicyon ~~as~~ the Argive confederacy was not destined to last. The re-establishment of the lost prestige of the Argive kings over all the cities of the confederacy by the energetic Pheidon³⁵ in the first third of the seventh century³⁶ leaves room for the inference that Sicyon was one of the cities that had waxed strong in the years of relaxation. And perhaps we would not be far from the facts if we surmise that it was the reviving of a strong Argive policy by Pheidon that accounts for the rising to power in Sicyon of an unusually stable and popular line of tyrants as leaders of a racial uprising to put an end to the Dorian policy in the city.

29) Regarding the existence of an Argive amphictyony which as late as the end of the sixth century could levy a fine of 500 talents on the Sicyonians (Herod. VI, 92) divergent views are held. Müller, Dorians, I, pp.175-6 (Eng. tr.); Meier, Die Privatschiedsrichter und die Öffentlichen Dieteten, p.37; Schoemann-Lipsius, Gr. Alterth. II⁴, pp.90-91; Cauer in Pauly-Wissowa I, p.1905 favor the view of its existence. 30) So Busolt, Gr. Gesch. I², p.589 n.4. 31) Paus. IV, 10, 6. 32) Ibid., IV, 11, 1 and 2. 33) Dated by Paus. 685-668 B.C. Modern scholars give various dates. See Frazer, Paus. III, p.414. Niese, Hermes XXVI, 1891, pp. 30 ff. dates it as late as 630-600 B.C. 34) Paus. IV, 14,1; IV, 15, 7 cf. IV, 17, 7. 35) Strato VIII, 358. On the far-reaching designs of Pheidon cf. Pury, Nem. Odes of Pindar, App. D. p.260 and Ure, The Origin of Tyranny, pp.154 ff. For the lapse of Argive power in the "lot of Temenus" cf. Paus. II, 26, 2; 28,3; VIII, 27,1; II, 36,5; III, 7,4; IV, 8,3; 14,3; 34,5. 36) Cf. Curtius, Gr. Gesch. I, p.656; Pury, Nem. Odes of Pindar, App. D. p.254 ff.; ibid. Hist. of Gr. p.140; Macan on Herod. VI, 127; Ure, op.cit., pp. 159, ff.

CHAPTER IV

The Tyrants of Sicyon.

That were precisely the social, political and commercial forces prevailing in Sicyon that contributed to the origin and development of tyranny in the seventh century B.C. we do not know. We are informed, however, that the movement was influenced by an ethnic question. Both the tyrants and their supporters belonged to the weaker Ionian element in the state--the tribe of Aegialeis. From the midst of this tribe sprang forth a family which led the revolt against the oppressive Dorian nationality, asserted the freedom of the state from Argive influence, and brought the city of Sicyon into prominence in Greek history for a period of 100 years.

Concerning this family very little is known except with regard to the last ruler, Cleisthenes, whose only daughter Agarista married Megacles the Alcmaeonid, and became the mother of the Athenian reformer Cleisthenes. About his predecessors, but a few facts are clear,--of some, the mere name. Regarding the origin and rise of the founder, Orthagoras, even less has been certain and doubts have been cast on his existence¹ because most genealogies ignore him.²

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- 1) Some have thought the name was merely assumed, e.g. Curtius, Gr. Gesch. I⁶, p.242.
 2) The genealogy is variously given. Herod. (VI, 126) names Andreas, Myron, Aristonymus, Cleisthenes. Arist. (Pol. p.1315b, Iekker) says the tyranny which lasted longest was that of Orthagoras and his sons at Sicyon, this continued for 100 years; in Pol. p.1316a he treats Myron as the immediate predecessor of Cleisthenes. Fauss. (II, 8,1), like Herodotus, names Myron, Aristonymus and Cleisthenes while Plut. (De ser. num. vind. 7) connects the tyranny with an oracle and gives the succession Orthagoras, Myron, Cleisthenes. Nicol. Damas. (fr.61) describing Cleisthenes' accession, makes Myron, Isodemus and Cleisthenes brothers, assigning to them respectively 7, 1 and 31 years' rule. The discovery of a papyrus fragment relating to an early history of Sicyon (see n.3) necessitates a revision of the prevailing view given by Duncker, Gesch. des Alt. VI⁶, p.78 and Fusolt, Gr. Gesch. I², p.661, n.4. The best discussions of the genealogy and chronology are by De Gubernatis, Atti R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, 51, 1915-16, pp.290 ff. who arrives at the following genealogical tree: Andreas, Orthagoras, Andreas, Myron, Aristonymus followed by Myron, Isodemus, Cleisthenes; by Matilde Denicoli, l.c. pp.12-19 ff; E. Cavaignac, Rev. des Et. Grec. XXXII, 1918, p.64 who arrange it so: Andreas, Orthagoras and Myron, then Aristonymus followed by Myron, Isodemus and Cleisthenes.

But ~~due~~³ to a papyrus recently found and published by Grenfell and Hunt³ we now have considerable fragments of a detailed account of the founder of the dynasty. The fragment settles the vexed question of the relationship of the two earliest known members of the family, Andreas and Orthagoras, by showing that Orthagoras was the first tyrant and that Andreas was his father. It also confirms the statement that the tyrants of Sicyon were sprung from a butcher or cook⁴ and shows that Orthagoras himself was bred as a butcher. This, with a brief narration of the military exploits of the youthful Orthagoras, of his favor with the people because of his mild rule, and of his ascendancy to the office of polemarch on active service, are briefly the contents of the fragment.

From among the line of his successors, Myron, Aristonymus, Isodemus, and Cleisthenes, we have the valuable and interesting information that Myron gained a chariot victory at Olympia in the 33rd Olympiad (648 B.C.)⁵. In his desire to commemorate the event he dedicated two bronze thalamoi, one of which bore an inscription saying it was a dedication by Myron and the people of Sicyon, an inscription which misled Pausanias into ascribing to Myron also the treasury built to contain them about a century later.⁶

The record we have of Aristonymus and Isodemus presents us rather with a genealogical and chronological problem than any historical data. Herodotus⁷ and Pausanias⁸ mention Aristonymus, the son of Myron and the father of Cleisthenes, while Isodemus is mentioned only by Nicolaus of Damascus,⁹ who makes Myron, Isodemus and Cleisthenes brothers. Whether Aristonymus ever ruled we are not told. Isodemus, according to Nicolaus, deeply injured by the actions of his immoral brother, Myron, slew him after a dominion of seven years at the in-

3) Oxyrhync. Pap. XI, No.1365. 4) Liban. Orat. c. Severum, III, p.251 (Reiske) applies it to Orthagoras while Diod. Exc. Vat. VIII, 24 applies it to Andreas.
5) Paus. VI, 19,2. 6) Frazer, Paus. ad. loc. of. Chap. IX. 7) VI, 126.
8) II, 9,1. 9) fr. 61.

stigation of Cleisthenes, and after a reign of one year was persuaded to go into exile for a year, by Cleisthenes, on the ground that he was polluted by the guilt of blood and during his absence Cleisthenes seized the power.

On the accession of Cleisthenes the tyranny at Sicyon became most brilliant and beneficent. His hostility to Argos, the part he took in the Sacred War of Delphi, and the splendor of his court are the chief facts of which we know. Cleisthenes was highly respected for his military activity says Aristotle;¹⁰ he won more followers than Isodemus because he was aggressive and fear-inspiring relates Nicolaus of Damascus,¹¹ and often sent out troops to win allies, and Herodotus¹² says he carried on war with Argos. Soon after he became tyrant he took a leading part in a war far beyond the confines of his native state, the first Sacred War fought about Delphi at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. At this time trouble was brewing between Delphi, the seat of the oracle of Apollo, and Crisa which claimed control over the Delphians and the oracle. Crisa lay on a hill to the west of Delphi at the mouth of the gorge of the Plistus, commanding its own plain stretching southwards to the sea, and completely commanding the approach to Delphi by the sea.¹³ The city had long levied tolls on the merchants and merchandise which passed back and forth under her walls on the long journey between the thriving cities of Euboea and their colonies in the far West. Furthermore, when Delphi attracted great crowds of worshippers, the Crisaeans, by commanding the road to it, were able to levy toll on the pilgrims, a practice which stirred the indignation of the Delphians. Desiring to free themselves from the control of the Crisaeans, they appealed to the Amphictyonic Council. This body, on the motion of the Athenian delegate, Solon,¹⁴ warmly espoused the cause of Delphi and declared a holy war against the

10) Pol. 1315b. 11) fr. 61. 12) Herod. V, 67. 13) On the topography and distinction between Crisa and Cirrha, cf. Frazer, Paus. V, pp.458-461. 14) Plut., Solon XI; Aesch. c. Ctes. III, 108. cf. Linforth, Solon the Athenian, p.98.

men of Crisa. Cleisthenes welcomed the chance to champion the cause of Apollo. According to Pausanias¹⁵ he was appointed to the command, and a scholiast on Pindar¹⁶ says the Crisaean control of the sea was ultimately broken by Cleisthenes' fleet.

The result of the war was that the city of Crisa was rased to the ground, the inhabitants slain, and the plain below made sacred to Apollo for all time. The Pythian games, too, were re-organized in celebration of the victory, and were held every four years thereafter. The chief promoter of this institution, Eury has shown,¹⁷ was the Sicyonian tyrant who influenced the Amphietyons to introduce at Delphi gymnastic contests and chariot races in honor of Apollo on the model of those which were celebrated at Olympia in honor of Zeus. In the first celebration of the reformed Delphian Pythia Cleisthenes was himself crowned as victor in the chariot race.¹⁸ In his own Sicyon he dedicated, from the spoils of the war on Crisa, a magnificent stoa¹⁹ and instituted, in the model of those at Delphi, Pythian games in honor²⁰ of Apollo at which the prize was silver goblets.²¹ It was perhaps at this time also that the Sicyonians contracted with the most reputable sculptors of the time, the Cretans Dipoenus and Scyllis, for statues of Athena, Heracles, Apollo and Artemis.²²

Cleisthenes' violent opposition to Argos and the Dorians led to an Argive war.²³ Sicyon had long been under Argive control. The pre-Dorian element

15) X, 37,6. 16) Schol. Nem. IX, 2. cf. Polyæn. Strat. III, 5; Front. Strat. III, 7,6. 17) Nemean Odes, Appendix D. p.249. 18) Paus.X, 7,6. 19) Paus. II, 9,6, cf. Schol. to Pind. Nem. IX, 2. 20) Pindar, Nem. IX an ode in honor of a victory at Sicyon in the chariot race won by Chromius of Aetna, celebrated in 472 B.C. but the victory was won years before, and Ol. XIII 109 and Schol. 148, 155 in honor of Xenophon of Corinth for victories at Olympia in 464 B.C. He had previously won at Sicyon. (Cf. also Schol. Nem. IX, 2,20,25). See also on Egea (Ditt. Syll.II³,802) who won there 44 B.C. 21) Pindar, Nem. IX, 51 with Schol. 121; Nem. X. 43. cf. Paus. Nemean Odes of Pindar, p.160. 22) Pliny, N.H. XXXVI, 9. cf. Chap. VII, pp. 90 ff. 23) Herod. V, 67-68. For Cleisthenes' friendly relation to the Cypselidae of Corinth in this movement cf. Herod. VI, 128 (Hippocleides was in favor with Cleisthenes because his ancestors were of kin to the Corinthian Cypselids), and Nik.Dam.fr.61 (Isodemus lives at the Corinthian tyrants' court).

in the state from which he himself was sprung was dominated by an aristocratic Dorian element. The tyrants' passionate hatred against Argos can probably be ascribed to the circumstance that the Dorian aristocracy in Sicyon just now found their strongest support in Argos where about this time the aristocracy had won the upper hand over the kingship.²⁴ What Herodotus tells us of the war against Argos shows plainly that Cleisthenes proceeded to absolve the union existing between the two cities, and to make his city fully independent of Argos. His reforms to effect this were three-fold, partly religious and partly political in nature: 1. The expulsion of the cult of the mythical king Adrastus; 2. Suppression of the Homeric recitals; 3. Alteration of the tribe-names.

Adrastus, the king of the Aegialeans, was represented in the Dorian saga also as king of Argos. His name was celebrated in Sicyon and Argos in memory of the ancient alliance-in-arms against Thebes. His sanctuary in the marketplace of Sicyon and his cult were a continual reminder to the Sicyonians of a union with Argos. The account given by Herodotus is familiar of how the tyrants' proposal was repulsed when he approached the Delphic oracle, how he ejected the hated hero from the city by the curious process of burying beside him the body of his bitterest enemy, the Theban Melanippus, and transferred to him the sacrifices and festivals wherewith Adrastus was wont to be honored. In the reformed festival the tragic choruses were given to Dionysus,²⁵ while Melanippus was honored with the rest of the sacred rites.

Whatever else may have been the motive of this reform, it had a decided political tendency. National unity was paramount for a tyrant whose support

24) Cf. Rusolt Gr. Gesch. I², p.664 n.4. 25) The Greek is *Διονύσιον ἑπέσωντο*. On the meaning of the verb in this case, Cf. Macan, ad Herod. V, 67. The passage is a corner-stone in the theory of Ridgeway, The Origin of Tragedy.

lay in the democratic element of the population. To attain this it was necessary to encourage festivals and cults that were universal and popular, replacing such as were for the aristocratic and exclusive worship of the nobles. Such would seem to be the purpose of the introduction of Dionysiac worship also by Periander at Corinth.²⁶

The shameless treatment of the memory of Adrastus and his consequent removal and the introduction of Melaniprus to be the hero of Sicyon had its effect far beyond the city. We know from Plutarch²⁷ that during the reign of Cleisthenes, Cleonae became subject to Sicyon but before the death of the tyrant she threw off the yoke.²⁸ In celebration of this deliverance, Cleonae reinaugurated, with the help of Argos, (who had also helped deliver it) the Nemean games, formerly held in honor of Heracles but now instituted in honor of the hero Adrastus.

To anti-Forian and anti-aristocratic motives were also due Cleisthenes' second reform. Herodotus in the passage quoted tells us briefly that Cleisthenes forbade the contests of rhapsodists at Sicyon because in the Homeric poems Argos and the Argives were so constantly the theme of song. It has often been argued²⁹ that the objection of Cleisthenes would hardly apply to the Iliad and Odyssey, and so we must understand the lost Thebais and Epigoni, or the Thebais--Epigoni. This view, it is argued, is borne out by the reference to Adrastus in the next sentence, who is barely mentioned in the two former, while he must

26) Dyer, *The Gods in Greece*, pp.125-126. cf. Greenidge, *Handbook of Gr. Const. History*, p.33; Duncker, *G. d. Alt.* VI⁵, p.58. 27) Plut. *De ser. Num. vind.* 7, cf. Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.* I⁶, p.253; Furry, *Nem. Odes of Pindar*, App. D. pp.250-251. Probably the defeat at the hands of the people of Orneae is to be placed at this time, (Curtius, *op.cit.* p.253 with note) whose dedicatory offering in honor of it, Pausanias (X, 18,5) and Plutarch (*de Pyth.* or 15) saw at Delphi. Its remains have been found cf. Pomtow, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 32, 1912, p.476. 28) Dated 573 B.C. by Furry, l.c. So also Duncker, *G. d. Alt.*, VI⁶, p.89. 29) See the authorities quoted by Macan, ad. Herod. V, 67.

have been the chief hero of the latter poem or poems. But when we remember that Herodotus, one of the first Homeric critics, had doubts as to the Homeric authorship of the Cypria³⁰ and the Epigoni³¹ we would have to conclude that he would hardly have ascribed the Thebais to Homer either. The poetry that Cleisthenes suppressed may well have included the Iliad. The motive was ofcourse political. The glorification of Argos and Argives with its then Dorian aristocracy, and particularly the statement in Il. II, 572 that "Adrastus first was king over Sicyon" must have been peculiarly offensive to such an ardent hater of the Argives of his day.

How completely Cleisthenes must have succeeded in severing relations with Argos in his Argive war we learn from his renaming of the Dorian tribes in Sicyon, a change maintained through his regime and for sixty years following. As already stated, there was in Sicyon beside the three Dorian tribes, the Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes, a fourth tribe of the remaining families of the pre-Dorian or Ionic population, the Aegialeis. Herodotus³² prefaces the statement with the explanation that Cleisthenes did it because he did not wish the tribes of Sicyon and Argos to have the same name and therefore substituted for the Doric tribes the names Swine-ites, Assites and Pigites, and for his own tribe the name Archelaoi, i.e. Rulers. This nomenclature endured for sixty years after his death, when the old Dorian names were restored and Archelaoi was changed to Aigialeis.

Eury³³ is sceptical of the story in this form because such a change would have been a greater slight to the mass of the Sicyonians than to the Argives. But this is underestimating the strength of the tyrants support.

30) II, 117. 31) IV, 324. Allen, Cl. Quart. III, 1909, p.83, n.2. 32) V, 68. 33) History of Greece, p.156. Cook suggests (J.H.S. XIV, 1894, p.169) that the tribes of Sicyon worshipped the pig and ass and adopted it as their symbol. But for this I find no evidence.

From the name Archelaoi we must assume that this tribe had the upper hand in civil and political life. May it not be, as Duncker thinks,³⁴ that the villagers and farmers who were freed from vassalage and military attendance on the three Doric tribes, were added to the one non-Dorian and thus, after four centuries of Dorian domination, the power was restored to the old Ionic population? For it could not have been mere mockery, as if a mere change of name could break down the Doric tribal system in Sicyon, which they were persuaded to adopt and maintain down to the date of the expulsion of the Peisistratidae. Nor can it be laid to the greater audacity of Cleisthenes above that of his predecessors implied in the words of Aristotle³⁵ "tyranny also passes into tyranny, as that of Myron into that of Cleisthenes," nor to his greater energy and cruelty vouched for by Nicolaus of Damascus.³⁶ The clue lies rather as Duncker³⁷ noticed in the words of Herodotus, "Cleisthenes did not want the tribes to have the same name in Sicyon and Argos." The explanation seems plausible that the Dorian tribes of Sicyon sought support and aid in Argos against Cleisthenes' anti-Dorian regime and in punishment of this traitorous act the tyrant cut the tie which bound the tribes of Argos with those of Sicyon by reason of mutual tribal nomenclature. By cutting this he changed Sicyon as much as possible into an Ionic city and broke the ancient regime based on blood and genetic associations. Sixty years mark its duration. This date, we shall see,³⁸ coincides with the restoration of the Dorian and aristocratic régime under the Spartans.

It is reasonable to suppose, as most historians do, that Cleisthenes had no male heir in view of the great importance attached to the marriage of his daughter, Agariste, who was to be an heiress--not to his power but to his wealth. Herodotus³⁹ gives us a lively and amusing story of her wooing and marriage--a

34) G. d. A. VI⁵, p.97. 35) Pol. 1315b. 36) fr. 61. 37) op.cit. p.98.
38) See p. 58 f. 39) VI, 126-130. cf. also Athen. VI, 273 b-c; XII, 541b; XIV, 628 c,d; Aelian, Var. Hist. XII, 24; Diod VIII, 19.

story held by some scholars to contain more romance than reality.⁴⁰ Her father wanted to select the best among the Greeks as his daughter's husband, so he proclaimed at an Olympian festival at which he himself won in the chariot-race⁴¹ that all who aspired to the hand of his daughter should assemble at Sicyon, sixty days hence, and be entertained at his court for a year. At the end of the year he would decide who was most worthy of his daughter. The news attracted to his royal halls those among the Hellenes most highly distinguished by birth, wealth, and gifts of mind. From the towns of Lower Italy, from Epidamnus, Thessaly and Euboea, Argos and Arcadia, Elis, Aetolia and Athens came the suitors. The year was spent in daily intercourse, gymnastic exercises, and tests of social accomplishments. The two Athenians, Hippocleides and Megacles, gained the father's preference. The day appointed for the decision came and Cleisthenes sacrificed the festive hecatomb with all the Sicyonians as guests. After the feast the suitors competed in music and general conversation. Hippocleides distinguished himself above all others, and, confident of the prize, betrayed the hilarity of his mood, bid the flute-player strike up, and began to dance. Cleisthenes, at first surprised at his behavior, became disgusted when Hippocleides called for a table and danced Spartan and Attic dances. But finally when the favored suitor proceeded to dance on his head performing an antic ill-becoming the occasion,⁴² Cleisthenes indignantly exclaimed, "O son of Tisander, you have danced away your bride!" The rejected suitor only replied, "What does Hippocleides care?"⁴³ and

40) So Grote. Hist. of Gr. III, p.39 note; Kirchhoff, Die Entstehungszeit des Herodotischen Geschichtswerkes, pp.42 ff.; Duncker, G.d.A. VI⁵, p.90; Stein, Herod. ad loc. suggests it comes from a Pindaric poem. Zühlke, De Agaristiis Nuptiis, pp.30 ff. shows that points in the story indicate an Italiote source or at least an Italiote interest. Still the fabulous element in the story need not invalidate the historic substance. cf. Macan, Herod. Vol. II, App. XIV, pp.310-311. 41) Generally dated 568 B.C. 42) Cook, Cl. rev., XXI, 1907, p.169 argues that it was a Theban dance. But cf. Solomon, *ibid.* pp.232-233. For the relation between the stories of the misconduct of Hippocleides to the Oriental story of the Dancing Peacock see Macan, Herodotus Vol. II, App. XIV, pp.304-311. 43) A proverbial phrase in Athens cf. Zenob. V, 31; Diogenianus, VII, 21; Suidas, s.v. ὁ φέρων Ἰπποκλείδην.

danced on. To the more self-contained Megacles was given the hand of Agariste, and a talent as gift to each of the disappointed rivals.

The presence of suitors from the noblest Athenian families, the Philiad Hippocleides and the Alcmaeonid Megacles, seems to evince the conclusion that a marriage connection with the tyrant of Sicyon was fraught with political significance. The two Athenian families may have been trying to regain that pre-eminence at home which shortly before had been terminated for them by the reforms of Solon. With the death of Cleisthenes ended the rule of the Orthagorids in Sicyon. Whether Megacles attempted to mount the throne of his father-in-law we do not know; we find him soon after entangled in the party strifes of Athens.

Herodotus⁴⁴ relates that the ethnic changes introduced by Cleisthenes continued in force for sixty years after his death; then the state was united by a friendly agreement, a sign of which was the re-establishment of the old Dorian tribe-names. The re-establishment of Dorian predominance in the form of an oligarchy, which Plutarch⁴⁵ regards as a type of the pure Doric aristocracy, after a suppression lasting for a hundred and fifty years could hardly have been effected without external force. Sparta in early times gained the greatest name as a liberator and is said to have put down most of the tyrannies in Greece.⁴⁶ Since the middle of the sixth century she had brought under her leadership Elis, Arcadia, and finally toward the end of the century, Corinth and Megara. Plutarch,⁴⁷ in a list of the tyrants put down by Sparta, numbers Aeschines of Sicyon with the sons of Feisistratus. In the absence of other evidence this statement of Plutarch regarding Aeschines has been regarded with a certain amount of suspicion⁴⁸ but we now know from a papyrus fragment⁴⁹ recently published that it represents a tradi-

44) V, 68 45) Aratus II. 46) Thuc. I, 18. cf. Herod. V, 62; Arist. Pol. 1312b.

47) De Herod. Malig. XXI, p. 859. 48) cf. e.g. Meyer, G. d. A. II, p. 629.

49) Catal. of the Greek Papyri of the John Rylands Library, p. 31, No. 18.

tion at least two centuries earlier. The fragment refers to events in the ephorate of the Lacedaemonian Chilon which dates about 556/5 I.C.,⁵⁰ and to king Anaxandrides whose floruit falls between 560-520 I.C.⁵¹ On the other hand the fragment records that tyrannies were put down among the Pelles, at Sicyon Aeschines, and at Athens, Hippias. We know that Hippias was expelled by Cleomenes, the son and successor of Anaxandrides in 511/10 I.C.⁵² so it is a safe assumption to say that the tyrant Aeschines in Sicyon was expelled about the same time.⁵³

That Sparta did not misuse her power but maintained a compromise with the Sicyonians, is shown by the fact that not long after (418 B.C.) did she find it necessary to alter the oligarchic constitution by narrowing the circle of qualified citizens.⁵⁴ It is questionable whether Argos still maintained the sphere of influence implied by Herodotus statement⁵⁵ that because Sicyon acceded to the demand of King Cleomenes of Sparta for ships to cross the gulf for a war on Argos, ~~that~~ that city levied a fine of 500 talents on the Sicyonians for breach of the sacred rights of her confederation--a fine of which Sicyon paid 100 talents. But that Spartan supremacy was effective in Sicyon is corroborated by the loyalty with which Sicyon served the Peloponnesian confederacy in the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars.

50) Meyer, op.cit. II, p.565. 51) ibid. op.cit. II, p.766. 52) On the chronology of Hippias cf. Meyer, G.d.A. II, p.796; Fusolt, Gr. Gesch. II², p.388. 53) Cf. De Cubernatis, Atti R. Accad. Torino, 51, 1915-16, pp.302-303. 54) Thuc. V, 81. 55) VI, 92, cf. Chap. III, n.29.

CHAPTER V.

Sicyon under the Spartan and Theban Hegemonies

Sect. 1. Sicyon in the Persian War.

Sicyon lifted its head high during the reign of the tyrants. Under their leadership she entered into relations with other states, extended her influence far beyond her own boundaries, secured afresh the high roads of commerce, and opened the sources of prosperity. Her hospitable court was made the meeting-place of men of eminent talent and the scene of splendid festivals in honor of the gods.

In the fifth century when most Greek states found it a matter of necessity or advantage to be enrolled as members of the confederacies of one or the other of the predominant powers of Hellas, Sicyon naturally gravitated toward Sparta because that state was the most powerful in the Peloponnese. The allegiance to the Peloponnesian confederacy entailed new obligations which destined the city to take part in the war with Persia and later to support Sparta in the struggle for the queenship of Hellas. First then we shall review briefly her support against the Persians. In common with the Peloponnesians, concerned mostly with Peloponnesian interests, Sicyonian troops were engaged, after Thermopylae, in defending the Isthmus.¹ She furnished a contingent of twelve triremes to the Greek fleet commanded by Purybiades at Artemisium,² a number which was reinforced to fifteen at Salamis.³ When the league was finally moved to strike the decisive blow which resulted in the victory at Plataea Sicyonian foot-soldiers to the number of 3000 partook in the battle.⁴ The Sicyonian name

1) Herod. VIII, 72. 2) ibid. VIII, 1. 3) ibid. VIII, 43. 4) ibid. IX, 28,31; Ibid. XI, 32,1.

can be seen and read in the inscription which still survives from the memorial of that victory--the tripod at Delphi.⁵ The achievement at Plataea was followed in a few days by the victory at Mycale where the Sicyonians sustained heavy losses, among others their general Perilaus, nevertheless, according to the historian of the war, they distinguished themselves next to the Athenians.⁶

To this period must also be assigned the appearance of Sicyonian coins. Even before the year 500 B.C. her coinage had begun, if the small coin now in Paris, thought to be an obol, can with certainty be attributed to Sicyon. It bears on the reverse a round incuse divided into four by crossing bars. Scarcely later than 500 a regular coinage appears; the rude incuse square is now replaced by an incuse square containing the letter Σ. Fabelon supposes that it was on the occasion of the preparation of the fleet and army for the Persian Wars and to pay their expenses that the first coins of Sicyon were struck.⁷

It was probably also in the course of the third decade of the fifth century that the craftsmen and mariners of Sicyon were employed in hewing, transporting and laying the stones for their treasury at Olympia to receive primarily the ancient offering commemorative of Myron's chariot victory there long before.⁸ Today its scanty remains among a row of twelve, only one of which was erected by a Peloponnesian city, bears witness to a spirit of enterprise among the burghers of Sicyon, and shows that they recognized the advantages accruing from such an edifice in the great religious meeting-place of their countrymen from both Greece itself and the colonies in the west. The first decades of the fifth century also mark the advent of the native Sicyonians

5) Mitt. Syll. I³, 31 (now in Constantinople). cf. also Paus. V, 23,1.

6) Herod. IX, 102,103,105. 7) Fabelon, Traite des Monnaies Gr. et Rom. I, 2, p.820; Catal. of Gr. Coins, Fr. Mus., Pelop. pp.XIII ff.; cf. Head, Hist. Num² r.409; Gardner, Hist of Anc. Coinage, p.378. 8) Paus. VI, 19,1. cf. Chap. IX.

Aristocles⁹ and Canachus in the domain of sculpture where Sicyon was destined to play a role much greater than in politics.

During the half century between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars the vicissitudes of Sicyon are not wholly clear to us except at times when the imperialistic actions of Athens draws it into the light. By 457 B.C. Athens was at the acme of her power. By force and intrigue her empire had been expanded to include a continental as well as maritime dominion. On her frontiers Boeotia and Megara were her subjects; Phocis and Locris recognized her hegemony. Through the willing adhesion of Megara, the conquest of Aegina, the capture of Troezen and the alliance with Argos she held a strong bulwark against the Peloponnesus. Athenian authority was supreme in the Saronic bay.¹⁰

The next object of Athenian policy was to gain the same dominion in the Corinthian gulf. Here Corinth, the great commercial city of the Isthmus, with colonies and commercial relations on the Aetolian, Acarnanian and Epirot coasts, was her chief and most dangerous enemy. On the east Megara and Aegina held her in check. Already the occupation of Naupactus as a naval station¹¹ at the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf and her mastery over Boeotia gave Athens considerable control of the northern shores of the gulf from within the gate up to the Isthmus. But the southern seaboard was still entirely Peloponnesian. To check Corinth the Athenian general Tolmides in 455 B.C. occupied the Corinthian Colony Chalcis on the Aetolian coast opposite Patrae and sailed into the Corinthian gulf. Sicyon, whose commercial interests in the gulf were common with those of Corinth was the next object of conquest. All we know of the attempt is that Tolmides made a descent on the city, devastated the country, and defeated a Sicyonian force.¹² Two years later (453 B.C.) Pericles himself

9) Cf. Chap. VII. 10) Cf. Fusolt, Gr. Gesch. III, 1², pp.297-302; 318-323.
11) Thuc. I, 103. 12) Thuc. I, 108,5; Paus. I, 27,5. On the chronology and an estimate of the success of Tolmides' expedition cf. Fusolt, op.cit. p.326. n.1.

led an expedition into the gulf to continue the work of Tolmides. Embarking a thousand Athenian hoplites on a squadron stationed at Pagae he coasted along to Sicyon. Disembarking his troops he defeated the Sicyonians who came out and met him at Nemea.¹³ That Pericles made an attack on the city, as Diodorus¹⁴ says, with such a small force is improbable. It is more reasonable to think that he confined himself to laying waste the fertile coastal plain, and on the approach of a Peloponnesian army he re-embarked his troops and sailed west to Oeniadae on the Acarnanian coast.

We have no record of Sicyonian events during the era of Athenian expansion until Athens met reverses in Boeotia, Phocis and Locris. With two other commercial towns in northwest Peloponnesus, Corinth and Epidaurus, the Sicyonians who were particularly jealous of the commercial greatness of Athens, assisted the Megarians in a successful revolt from Athens.¹⁵ (445 B.C.).

Sect. 2. Sicyon during the Peloponnesian War.

Of a second-rate Greek state whose policy, both foreign and domestic, was directed by one of the greatest powers of fifth century Hellas, one would naturally not expect to find much mention during the Peloponnesian War. Especially so is this true of Sicyon. Add to this also the circumstance of geographical position of the city in a war between a maritime and continental power

13) Thuc. I, 111,2; Plut. Pericles 19. Plutarch wrongly says the battle took

place at Nemea, i.e. in the territory of Cleonae. But an inland march with so small a force would have been unwise. From Thucydides we can conclude that the battle was fought on the seashore after the landing of the troops probably at the Nemea River. So Fusolt op.cit., p.334, n.4 following Duncker, Gesch. d. Alt. VIII⁵, p.344, n.2. So also W. Meyer, G.d. Alt. III², p.608. 14) XI, 88. He says Pericles defeated the whole body of the Sicyonians (παύθησαν) and laid siege to the city itself but failed to reduce it. Because of the unreliability of Diodorus source (Ephorus) the statement that Pericles with 1000 men could defeat the whole military strength of a city which Herod. VIII, 28 reckoned at 3000 hoplites has no value. Pericles' failure to take Oeniadae on the Acarnanian coast substantiates this belief. cf. Fusolt, op.cit. p.335 n.1. 15) Thuc. I, 114,1.

resulting in the peculiar strategy of the sea-power attacking the maritime possessions of the land-power and the latter directing its attacks chiefly against the continental possessions of the sea-power, and one can readily see why Sicyon was never, during that struggle, of strategic importance nor the scene of actual warfare. The recounting of scarcely a dozen events will suffice in narrating its vicissitudes for the next thirty years.

Already in the prelude to the war (435-4 P.C.) envoys from Sicyon and Sparta were present with the Coreyreans at Corinth when the latter made their futile proposal to refer their grievances against Corinth for arbitration to the Peloponnesian states.¹⁶ As soon as hostilities were imminent the Sicyonians, among others of the allies, were commissioned to provide the Lacedaemonians a navy¹⁷ whose first engagement with the Athenians only served to increase the reputation of the enemy's fleet. The Lacedaemonian fleet, 47 vessels in number, having sailed out from Corinth (429 P.C.) to support Cnemus in his campaign against the Acarnanians, was compelled to engage Phormio with his 20 Athenian ships stationed at Naupactus. The skillful manoeuvres of the Athenians, aided by a favorable morning breeze which knocked the ships against one another, and the fact that the Peloponnesian fleet was not equipped for a naval engagement but for the conveyance of troops, conspired to give the Athenians a complete victory.¹⁸ A second engagement of the two fleets ultimately turned out less successfully for the Lacedaemonians, and the remnant of the fleet returned to Corinth.¹⁹

What was the fate of the Sicyonian contingent of hoplites we do not know until we hear of a small number of them in 424 P.C. In that year the long

16) Thuc. I, 28, 1. 17) Thuc. II, 9, 3. To the allied army Peloch, *Fevölkerung* p. 119 estimates she furnished about 2000 hoplites. At Plataea her contingent was 3000 (Herod. IX, 28), at Nemea in 394 P.C. 1500 (Xen. Hell. IV, 2, 16). 18) Thuc. II, 80, 3; II, 83, 84. 19) Thuc. II, 86-93.

Walls and the port of Nisaea in Megara had again passed into the hands of the Athenians. The Spartan general Frasidas, who was recruiting around Sicyon and Corinth for an expedition to Thrace, hastened to the relief of Megara. Besides his own troops he had 2700 Corinthians, 400 Phliasians, and 600 Sicyonian hoplites.²⁰ The Athenians, unwilling to risk a battle, fought an indecisive skirmish and retired to Nisaea. In the early winter of the same year, soon after the battle of Delium, Demosthenes came from an unsuccessful attempt to take Siphac in Foecotia, and made an unsuccessful descent on the Sicyonian coast. But the Sicyonians were on their guard. Before all the fleet had reached the shore, they came out against the invaders, put to flight those who had landed, pursued them to their ships, killing some and making prisoners of others. They then erected a trophy, and according to Greek custom, gave back the dead under a flag of truce.²¹ The following year (March 423 B.C.) is remembered for the ratification of the one year's truce, sworn to, on behalf of Sicyon, by Damotimus, the son of Naucrates and Onasimus, the son of Megacles.²²

The truce was followed in the next year (422-1 B.C.) by a treaty of peace between Athens and Sparta which was fixed for a term of fifty years. But the terms of the agreement were of small benefit to Sparta's allies, and the pacific conditions expected did not materialize. The history of the next three years is therefore one of complex inter-state intrigues combined with internal political convulsions, the details of which cannot here be discussed. With respect to Sicyon it must suffice to note that together with the Corinthians they frustrated Alcibiades in his plan to hem in Corinth by hindering his fortification of the Achaean promontory of Phium.²³ In 418 B.C. when Sparta, alarmed at the activity of Argos against Epidaurus, mustered a large force of allies at

20) Thuc. IV, 70,1.

21) Thuc. IV, 101,3 and 4.

22) Thuc. IV, 119,2.

23) Thuc. V, 52,2.

Phlius, the Sicyonians are named among what was afterwards maintained to have been the finest Hellenic army that had ever up to that time been collected.²⁴ Whether they fought in the decisive battle of Mantinea, four months later, is unknown. The prestige restored to Sparta however by the victory at Mantinea had a direct political result in Sicyon as well as in Argos in that the Lacedaemonians forced them to set up a more oligarchical government.²⁵ This is the first direct interference we hear of since Sparta put down the tyranny there about 510 B.C.²⁶

Only three meagre references account for their continued support of the Lacedaemonian cause during the last decade of the war. In 413 B.C. they sent 200 hoplites under the command of Sargeus to Sicily.²⁷ In the same year, after the Athenian disaster at Syracuse, they, with the Arcadians and Pellonians, were instructed to furnish ten of the hundred ships proposed to be built by the Peloponnesians.²⁸ Finally, they undoubtedly contributed to the final victory of the war at Aegospotami, for in the great dedication wrought in bronze partly at the hands of the Sicyonian sculptors Alypus, Patrocles and Camachus for the Lacedaemonians at Delphi commemorative of that victory, Pausanias²⁹ saw, among the statues of individual men from the allies who had helped Lysander win, the statue of Agasimenes, the Sicyonian.

To judge by the abundance of Sicyonian coins the period of the Peloponnesian War must have been one of great commercial activity. After the conquest of Aegina by Athens in 431 B.C. and the consequent stopping of her coinage which had been prevalent in the Peloponnesus, Sicyon issued coins in such great quantities that they became in fact the prevailing type in the Peloponnesus until

24) Thuc. V. 58,4 ff.; V, 59,3; 60,3. 25) Thuc. V, 81,2. Cf. Greenidge, Handbook of Gr. Const. Hist. p.71. 26) Cf. p. 58 ff. 27) Thuc. VII, 58,3; Diod. XIII, 8,3. 28) Thuc. VIII, 3,2. 29) X, 9,10. Cf. p.102.

the time of Alexander the Great.³⁰

Sect. 3. Sicyon during Spartan Supremacy.

For more than a generation after Aegospotami the city remained faithful to Sparta. But Spartan supremacy was not unchallenged elsewhere. Because she grasped all the fruits of the victory over Athens and did not share them with the allies who had borne the greatest burdens of the war, disaffection and antipathy were aroused. Stimulated by money and co-operation from Persia, a formidable hostile confederation against the ascendancy of Lacedaemon was formed by Thebes, Athens, Corinth, Argos, and other states. In the war which resulted Sicyon was but a simple unit in the catalog of Sparta's allies, furnishing her contingent, like the rest, to be commanded by Spartan officers. An object of the war--the so-called Corinthian war--was to check Sparta at the Isthmus. With Corinth as the base of operations of the Confederates, Sicyon thus became the logical choice as headquarters for the Lacedaemonians. Thus in 394 B.C. it was the rendezvous for the Lacedaemonians and their allies before they proceeded eastward to encounter the Confederates in the battle of the Nemea.³¹ Two years later, Praxitas, the Lacedaemonian polemarch at Sicyon, taking 600 hoplites, went out from Sicyon and with the help of a Philo-Laonian party at Corinth was admitted into Corinth which was in the hands of the Confederates.³² In the ensuing battle of the Long Walls at Corinth the Sicyonians, facing the Argives, were overpowered in the first onset and Xenophon³³ has recorded an amusing incident of the affair. When they discovered that their allies were hard pressed by their Argive opponents, a troop of cavalrymen under the Spartan Pasimachus

30) Catal. of Gr. Coins Br. Mus., Pelop. pp. XIII ff. cf. Head. Hist. Num.² pp. 409 ff. 31) Xen. Hell. IV, 2, 14. The Sicyonians had 1500 hoplites in the battle, ibid IV, 2, 16. 32) Xen. Hell. IV, 4, 7 ff. 33) Hell. IV. 4, 10 ff.

tied their horses to the trees, relieved the Sicyonians of their heavy infantry shields, and advanced against the Argives. But the latter, seeing the Sigmas³⁴ on their shields and taking them to be Sicyonians, were undaunted. Then Pasimachus shouted in broad Doric, "By the twin gods. These Sigmas will deceive you, you Argives." But in the battle against the superior numbers he was himself slain with his followers. In one of a series of raids of this time we have mention of one by Iphicrates in which he overthrew the Sicyonians.³⁵ For many years after Sicyon is in the background. But we know her steadfastness in maintaining alliance with Sparta was not shaken even by the results of Leuctra. She eagerly joined in a new and hopeless campaign against Thebes, and furnished ships to transport to the survivors at Leuctra Peloponnesian reinforcements from Corinth to Creusis.³⁶ Sicyonian forces made their last stand in the defense of Sparta when Epaminondas for the first time invaded Laconia (370 B.C.).³⁷

Sect. 4. Sicyon under Theban Hegemony.

When the prestige of Spartan military supremacy was lost at Leuctra it agitated every state in the Peloponnesus. With the expulsion of her harmosts there went a reaction against the oppressive local oligarchies which had looked to Sparta for support; democratic revolutions flooded the land with troops of dangerous exiles. The commotion disturbed many Peloponnesian states including Sicyon where violent measures were taken³⁸ the details of which are unknown but the oligarchy was evidently spared.³⁹ But the city was soon to experience in a more direct way the altered position of Sparta and the ascendancy of

34) Cf. also Phot. Bibl. p.532a, 18. On the shield devices of the Greeks, cf. Chase, Harvard Stud. in Cl. Phil. XIII, pp.60 ff. For Sicyon see p.77.

35) Diod. XIV, 91,3. 36) Xen. Hell. VI, 4,18. 37) ibid. VII, 2,2 cf. VI, 5,29. 38) Diod. XV, 40,4. 39) Xen. Hell. VII, 1,44.

Thebes. When Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnesus for the second time (summer 369 B.C.), he joined his allies, the Arcadians, Argives and Eleans and took Sicyon.⁴⁰ The people voted to form an alliance with Thebes and admitted a Theban garrison into the acropolis but the oligarchical government remained unaltered. To regain the city for Sparta it was attacked by a body of mercenary Celtic and Iberian troops sent by Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse. Their bravery and singular nimbleness of movement gave them the advantage in a skirmish with the Sicyonians in which they lost the fortress of Derae.⁴¹ (369 B.C.)

Developments amounting to a defiance of the will of Thebes stirred Epaminondas to a third invasion of the Peloponnesus in 367 B.C. Achaëa was won for Thebes, the oligarchical constitution was overthrown, and the oligarchical leaders banished. But the exiles, combining their united forces, overthrew the newly-formed democracies, expelled the Theban harmosts, and henceforth the Achaean oligarchs took decided and active part with Sparta.⁴² The unsettled state of affairs were soon reflected in Sicyon.

The counter-revolution of the Achaean cities alarmed Arcadia and Argos lest Sicyon, closely adjoining Achaëa, also should follow the example. Of this alarm a leading Sicyonian citizen named Euphron, took advantage. True enough the acropolis was held by a Theban garrison but the oligarchical government was still ruling in Sicyon and he reminded them that this must be put down or the city would embrace the interests of Sparta. He then offered himself, with their aid, to accomplish the revolution. Aided by the presence of troops from both countries, he effected the overthrow of the old oligarchy and

40) Xen. Hell. VII, 1,18; Paus. VI, 3,2 f. The stratagem of the Boeotian Panmanes in attacking and taking the harbor of Sicyon at this time is recorded by Polyæn. V, 16,4; Frontin. III, 2,10; Aen. Tact. 29,12. 41) Xen. Hell. VII, 1,20-23. For the location of Derae see p. 24. 42) Xen. Hell. VII, 1,41-43.

established a democracy.⁴³ Then, having secured his own election as general with five partisans, he increased the mercenary forces, re-organized and placed them under the command of his son Adeas, and surrounding himself with a large body-guard, he began a career of sanguinary tyranny.⁴⁴ The public money and temple treasures were seized for the maintenance of his 2000 mercenary soldiers; his opponents, the wealthiest and most eminent citizens, under the pretext of laconism, were either put to death without trial or exiled and their property seized; slaves were freed and given citizenship.⁴⁵ Thus his power became very great.⁴⁶ Euphron protected himself in his power over the town and harbor by an alliance with Thebes,⁴⁷ and by bribing the Arcadians and Argives into passive consent.⁴⁸ Furthermore, at the head of his large mercenary force he furnished ready military support to his allies, especially the invasion against Phlius.⁴⁹

In spite of the great military power he represented, the Arcadians, who had helped him in his first designs, no longer able to connive at his intolerance, sent troops under the general Aeneas of Stymphalus to Sicyon where he joined with the Theban harmost in the acropolis and effected the recall of the numerous political exiles. Euphron fled to the harbor where he invited Pasimeles to come, with a portion of the garrison at Corinth, and he surrendered it to them.⁵⁰ The harbor, a separate town and fortification at some little distance from the city, was thus held by the Spartans, while the city adhered to the Thebans and Arcadians.

In Sicyon, however, though evacuated by Euphron, party strife again broke out between the oligarchs and the popular party. With the help of his

(1217.

43) The overthrow must have taken place 367 B.C. Cf. Swoboda in Pauly-Wissowa.II, p. 44) Xen. Hell. VII, 1, 44-46. 45) Xen. Hell. VII, 1,46; VII, 3,8; cf. Diod. XV, 70,3. 46) The coins struck with the letters ΕΥ (Head, Hist. Num. p.410) however, ought rather to be attributed to his grandson, cf. Euphron, Prosopog. No.131. 47) Xen. Hell. VII, 3,8. 48) ibid. VII, 1,46. 49) ibid. VII, 2,11. 50) ibid., VII, 3, 1-3.

partisans and mercenary troops which Athens put at his disposal, Euphron once more succeeded in becoming master of the town in conjunction with the popular party. Because his opponents in Sicyon joined with the Theban garrison on the acropolis Euphron tried to take it by assault.⁵¹ Failing in this, he realized that he could not maintain himself if Thebes was his enemy, so he went thither to win over the authorities by bribery. Some of his Sicyonian enemies, alarmed lest he should carry his point, betook themselves to Thebes, and during a meeting Euphron had with the Thebans on the Cadmea he was killed.⁵² His assassins were seized and put on trial before the Senate but were acquitted through the impressive defense⁵³ of one of the tyrannicides. At Sicyon, however, sentiment was favorable to Euphron. His body was carried thither, and, contrary to Sicyonian custom,⁵⁴ he was buried in the market-place where he was worshipped as a hero and founder of the state.⁵⁵ Such grateful admiration shows that the masses of the people preferred the rule of Euphron to that of his political opponents whom he had so mercilessly treated.

The brevity of Xenophon does not inform us of the subsequent arrangements made with the Theban harmost in the acropolis,--nor how the intestine warfare, between the democracy in the town and refugees in the citadel, were composed,--nor what became of the citizens who slew Euphron. We learn only that not long afterwards the harbor of Sicyon, which Euphron had held in conjunction with the Laeodaeonians and Athenians, was left imperfectly defended by the recall of the latter to Athens; and that it was accordingly retaken by the forces from the town, aided by the Arcadians.⁵⁶

During the height of Euphron's power the Sicyonians raised the fortress of Thyamia on their southern frontier as a defence against Phlius, a state which

51) *ibid.* VII, 3,9. 52) *ibid.* VII, 3,4-6. 53) *ibid.* VII, 3,7-12 (date 366-5 B.C.) 54) *Plut. Aratus*, 53. 55) *Xen. Hell.* VII, 3,12. 56) *ibid.* VII, 4,1.

steadily remained steadfast to Sparta. In conjunction with the general Chares, the Phliasians surprised and took Thyamia, and the fortress became, for a time, a means of aggression against the enemy.⁵⁷ Its evacuation by the Phliasians in 366-5 P.C., after the conclusion of peace between Corinth, Epidaurus, Phlius and other states with Thebes, would seem to show that Sicyon was a party to that agreement.⁵⁸ If that is true the city must have repudiated its alliance with Thebes and, like Corinth, its neighbor, maintained neutrality when Epaminondas went forth with the Thebans and their allies in 362 P.C. to the campaign in the Peloponnesus which resulted in the great Theban victory at Mantinea.⁵⁹

The complications in another quarter of the Peloponnesus in the years 365-4 P.C. are of interest in the international history of Sicyon. In this year the Arcadians and Eleans were at war resulting in two invasions of Elis in successive years and the celebration of the Olympic festival in 364 P.C. by the Arcadians, under the presidency not of the Eleans but of the people of Pisa, the ancient possessors of the sanctuary.⁶⁰ An inscription which has come to light in our own day records the honor of proxenia granted on this occasion by the Pisatans to the Sicyonians, Cleander and Socles.⁶¹ The same Olympiad is memorable in the annals of Sicyonian athletes for it was at this festival that the Sicyonian pancratiast Sostratus won the first of his seventeen victories by the dexterous method which earned for him the epithet ἀκροαίσιππος.⁶²

We know that with the death of Epaminondas at Mantinea, the formidable character of Thebes was broken. As has already been noted, Sicyon had probably

57) Xen. Hell. VII, 2,1; 18-23; 4,1. 58) *ibid.* VII, 4,11. So Schäfer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, I², p.114, n.3. 59) Diod. XV, 85,2 enumerates the Sicyonians among the Theban allies. He is the lone authority for it. Schäfer, *op.cit.* p.128, n.3 thinks he erred. 60) Xen. Hell. VII, 4,13 ff. 61) Dittenberger and Furgold, *Insc. von Olympia*, p.73, n.36. cf. *Prosopogr.* Nos.173,285. 62) Paus. VI, 4,1. For the inscription recording his victories cf. *Prosopographia*, No.299.

even some years before that event thrown off the obligation to follow Theban leadership so it is not surprising to find that she does not support that state in the attempt to crush the Phocians, her neighbors, who now came forward and enjoyed a moment of expansion and conquest which is marked by a second Sacred War.⁶³ On the contrary, the fragmentary accounts of the council of the Naopoiioi at Delphi, whose meetings and supervision of the erection of the temple of Apollo were not disturbed during the Phocian usurpation of the sanctuary, show that Sicyon was on amicable relations with the Phocians. On the outbreak of the war in 356 B.C., a Sicyonian, Xenotimus, is represented on the council, and he reappears there in 353 and 346-5 B.C.⁶⁴ To this friendly relation of Sicyon to Phocis is connected in some way the anecdote of Athenaeus⁶⁵ that Onomarchus, the Phocian general presented four golden combs to the son of the Sicyonian Pythodorus on the occasion of the son's visit to Delphi. To trace the explanation for Sicyon's maintenance of neutrality to Phocis back to economic causes appears to be very reasonable.⁶⁶ We may also note in this connection that also after the conquest of the Phocians by Philip in 346 B.C. the accounts of the building commission show that Sicyon continued both to send her delegates to the commission and to supply material of wood and stone for the re-erection of the Delphic temple.⁶⁷

63) Diodorus XVI, 29,1 f. does not range Sicyon among the allies of Thebes and Thessaly. 64) See Prosopographia No. 234. 65) XIII, p.605A. 66) So Cloche, F.C.H. XL, 1916, pp.107-108, 129-130. He suggests a relationship between the relative number of naopoiioi of Corinth and Sicyon and the number of contracts awarded between 346 and 327 B.C. 67) See p. 36 f.

CHAPTER VI.

Sicyon in Hellenistic and Roman Times

Sect. 1. Sicyon under the Diadochi.

Long before Philip crushed all opposition against him at the epoch-making battle of Chaeronea he had had his servants doing his bidding in the cities of Greece. In Sicyon, as we learn from the patriotic orponent of the Macedonians, he had supported the local tyrants Aristratus¹ and Epichares,² so we may surmise that when all Greece was at the feet of the conqueror and he proceeded to the Peloponnesus and to the synedrion at Corinth to be chosen general-in-chief of all the Greeks for a war against Persia, that he found ready recognition of Macedonian supremacy in Sicyon. A symptom of disquietude, however, is discernible subsequent to the convention of the Greek states with Alexander two years after Chaeronea, from the statement of a contemporary anti-Macedonian orator³ that Alexander interfered in the affairs of Sicyon by restoring to power there a certain παῖς τῆς βίης, evidently an expelled Macedonian partisan.

During the next thirteen years, occupied by Alexander's Asiatic campaigns, the history of Sicyon, like that of nearly all Greece, is a blank. It is only at the death of Alexander that the Greek cities again awaken into active movement, and then we find Sicyon one of the first to publicly declare her willingness to help liberate Greece. Yet it ought to be recalled in this

1) Demosthenes, de Corona, 48 and 295. He was somewhat of a patron of art. A painting of him standing by a chariot of victory done by Melanthius and his pupils existed in Sicyon till it was partly effaced by Aratus. (Plut. Arat., XIII, 2 f.). He also summoned to Sicyon Nicomachus of Thebes to paint a monument to the poet Telestes (Pliny, N.H. XXXV, 109). His date is c. 360-340 B.C. Cf. Gildemeister and Hühner, Rhein. Mus., XXVII, 1872, n.536, n.1; Schaefer, Demosth. und seine Zeit. II², n.364, n.4, III², p.40, n.3. 2) Demosth. l.c., 295. cf. Suidas, s.v.

παῖς τῆς βίης

3) Pseudo-Demosth., Orat. de Foed., 16.

connection and to the credit of Sicyon that it was a sculptor of that city, Lysippus, who glorified so skilfully those individual characteristics of the world conqueror that tradition says that he alone among sculptors was permitted to make portraits of the great king. He also executed the large historical monument at Dion erected by Alexander in commemoration of his victory at Granicus representing the king's twenty-five horsemen who fell in the battle--the largest composition the sculptor ever made.⁴

During Alexander's absence in Asia Sicyon was but an outlying appendage of his newly-made empire. But when tidings of his death came she joined in a vain struggle for emancipation. When Athens revolted against Macedonia and besieged Antipater, the regent of Greece, in Lamia (323/2 B.C.) the cause of Greek freedom was espoused by most of the Greek states and a confederacy was formed for expelling the Macedonians from their cities. Nowhere did the prospects of the new confederacy meet with more favor and encouragement than at Sicyon. We have long known from Diodorus⁵ and Pausanias⁶ the general fact that the city joined Athens as an ally but a public decree recently found inscribed on a stone at Athens⁷ recounting the honors voted by the Athenians for the services of the Sicyonian Euphron has materially increased our knowledge of the contemporary situation at Sicyon. The document shows that under the aegis of Macedonia a garrison had been introduced into the acropolis,⁸ that at the instance of the Lamian War against Antipater Euphron returned from exile, expelled the garrison, freed the city, and allied it, as the first city of the Peloponnesus, with Athens in the war against Antipater. But within a year the vigorous action of Antipater against the timidity of the allies ended their

4) See p.114. 5) XVIII, 11,2. 6) I, 25,4. Cf. also Justin., V, 13,10.
7) I.G. II, 5, 231b; Ditt. Syll. I³, 310,317. 8) Kaerst, Rh. Mus. 52, 1897,
p.547 thinks it was introduced after the revolt of Agis in 333 B.C.

last united attempt at emancipation. A Macedonian garrison was reinstated in Sicyon and Euphron was slain resisting it.⁹

During the struggles to maintain the component parts of Alexander's empire in Europe and Asia amid the counter-interests of his successors who were steadily tending to divide and appropriate them, the vicissitudes of Sicyon are traceable only at periodic times. When its name first appears it is in connection with the contentions of Polysperchon and his son Alexander against Cassander, all of whom are in the field with rival armies. The decree¹⁰ of Polysperchon in 319 B.C. recommending expulsions of the oligarchies and the erection of democracies was met with enthusiasm in the Peloponnesus¹¹ and was probably complied with in Sicyon for in 317 B.C. when Polysperchon was defeated in Macedonia and Cassander made his first invasion of the Peloponnesus, Sicyon remained loyal to Polysperchon. Two years later (315 B.C.), through the machinations of Cassander whose increasing power raised apprehensions among his enemies both in Greece and Asia, Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, was won over as his ally and given the separate government of the Peloponnesus in the cities formerly garrisoned by Cassander and Alexander. Polysperchon, who had hitherto also maintained a local domination over various cities in the Peloponnesus, yielded the generalship to his son Alexander.¹² Henceforth Sicyon continued to be held by Alexander until he met his end at the hands of Alexion and other Sicyonian democrats¹³ as he was proceeding to the Achaean cities where the garrisons installed by Cassander were being expelled by Aristodemus, the general of Antigonus. It has been maintained that during the occupation of Sicyon by Alexander the tetradrachms of which a large number have been found at Patrae were issued there.^{13a}

9) Ditt. Syll. I³, 317 lines 19-22. 10) Diod. XVIII, 56. 11) *ibid.* XVII, 69 3 and 4. 12) These relations are all discussed by Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* III², pp. 368 ff. 13) Diod. XIX, 67, 1. 13a) Newton, *Num. Chron.*, 1853, p. 29, M. Müller, *Num. d' Alex. le Grand*, Nos. 864-898; Fr. Mus. Catal. Pelop. p. XXIII; Head, *Hist. Num.* 2 p. 411.

On the occasion of Alexander's assassination a revolt broke out in Sicyon, but Cratesipolis, his widow, a woman of great courage and energy, took charge of the government and in spite of all opposition maintained herself with considerable force,¹⁴ ruling for her father-in-law Polysperchon who, since the death of his son, had again assumed command. By their efforts the city was preserved together with Corinth from the hands of Telesphorus, the general of Antigonus, who had liberated all the cities formerly garrisoned by Alexander.¹⁵ But when in 309 and 308 B.C. Polysperchon was returning from Macedonia and had to face the unexpected opposition of the Boeotians and Peloponnesians from the above-named liberated cities, Corinth and Sicyon found themselves cut off from support.¹⁶ Then when Ptolemy of Egypt came to Greece with a powerful armament in the spring of 308 B.C. and attacked Corinth and Sicyon, Cratesipolis, in the absence of Polysperchon, despaired of her ability to hold the cities and gave them over to Ptolemy. When he retired from Greece after these successes he left secure garrisons in both the cities.¹⁷

The following year Greece saw the sudden arrival of a large armament commanded by Demetrius Poliorketes, the son of Antigonus. During four years of successful military operations, partly in Greece and partly in Egypt and Asia, marked by the skilful and effective use of engines in besieging fortified places, which procured for him the surname by which he is known in history, and by demonstrations in his honor on two triumphant entries into Athens, he succeeded in enlisting among his subordinates the greater part of Greece. It was in the course of the year 307 B.C. after his first successes at Athens and as he was on the point of leaving Greece for Asia at the summons of Antigonus for war against Ptolemy that he turned with covetous eyes toward Sicyon and Corinth and

14) ^{ibid.} *ibid.*, XIX, 67,2. 15. *ibid.*, XIX, 74,2. 16) *ibid.*, XX, 28. 17) *ibid.*, XX, 37,1,2; cf. Polyæn., *Strat.* VIII, 58.

tried to bribe the commander of the garrison left there by Ptolemy to liberate them. Failing in this, but elated by a victory soon after over Ptolemy's brother, Menelaus, he offered terms to Ptolemy on condition that he withdraw his garrisons in these two cities.¹⁸ But where diplomacy and intrigue failed him he won by force. In 303 B.C. he was back in Greece and in the course of the year made a night attack on the garrison of Ptolemy in Sicyon and got within the walls. Already master of the city and threatening to besiege the acropolis, the garrison capitulated, embarked for Egypt, and left Demetrius master of the city.¹⁹ His seizure of Sicyon and brief occupation destined him to play a prominent part in its history. Previous to his time, the main portion of the city stood in the plain at the foot of the large plateau upon which the acropolis was located. Probably for the reason that the population was so reduced in numbers as to be inadequate for the defense of so large an extent of wall, Demetrius compelled the citizens to abandon the town in the plain, and to build upon the acropolis, while on the smaller and somewhat more elevated plateau immediately behind the earlier acropolis, he placed his own and fortified the entire height already by nature almost impregnable, by means of a wall, considerable portions of which are still standing. And because he helped the people to build and restored them their freedom they bestowed on him divine honors, conferred upon the new city the name Demetrias, and voted sacrifices and games and all the other honors as their founder. These resolutions fell into abeyance but the people of Sicyon, finding the new situation adapted, far better than the old one, for a permanent population because it had an abundance of water and provided for their safety and peaceful enjoyment, continued

18) Plut., Demetrius XV. 19) Ebd. XX, 102, 2; Polyæn., Strat. IV, 7,3; Plut., Demetrius, XXV says he bribed the garrison to evacuate.

to dwell on the new site henceforth.²⁰

From the time of its occupation by Demetrius and its removal to the more favorable site until it joined the Achaean league the city continued to be dependent on the Macedonians but ruled over by local tyrants with mercenary troops whose sway was but once broken for a short interval by a democratic ascendancy. Demetrius had died and his son, Antigonos Gonatas, had for some fifteen years borne the royal title of the Antigonid dynasty²¹ before we hear of the vicissitudes of these third century tyrants. Probably it was on the occasion of Pyrrhus' temporary success over Antigonos in Macedonia and upon his invasion of the Peloponnesus in 272 B.C. that the democratizing movement broke out in Sicyon.²² The ruling tyrant, Cleon,²³ was slain and for a short time a democracy was set up under the joint guidance of two leading citizens, Timoclididas and Clinias, the father of Aratus. Timoclididas died, and Clinias in the course of the year 264 B.C.²⁴ was assassinated by Abantidas. He held the sovereign power till the year 252 B.C. when he fell a victim to the conspiracy of two men, a philosopher Aristotle, and Deinias, probably the historian.²⁵ They failed,

20) Diod. XX, 102, 2 ff.; Plut. Demetr. 25; Paus. II, 7,1; Strabo, VIII, p.382; Paus. II, 7,1. How long the name lasted we do not know. From Diodorus we gather it did not last long. But the name seems to have recurred in more recent times; in connection with the country around Sicyon Nicephorus, Hist. Byz. IV, 9, p.116,22 (Bonh) says οὕτω δ' ἔχοντες διοτιχῶς καταστῶσιν ἐς τὰ παλαιὸν τῆς ἀρχιερειδῶς λωρεῖα. πόλις δὲ αὕτη Σικωνίαν μὲν προτερον ἐπικαλεσθῆναι, κτλ.

From the change of site made by Demetrius we also get the name New Sicyon in the sixth century c.f Hierocles Synecdemus p. 646,8. Pausanias calls it ἡ νῦν πόλις II, 7,1. Leake, Morea III, p.367 thinks the maritime quarter was known as Παλαιὰ Σικωνία. 21) The chronology of his kingship, Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas, p.112, n.3. 22) So Tarn, op.cit. pp. 268,361. 23) The succession of rulers is given by Paus. II, 8, 1-3 and Plut. Aratus, II, 1-3 and III, 4 ff. Pausanias varies somewhat from Plutarch; he names also one Euthydemus ruling with Timoclididas. See Prosopographia No. 118. 24) The date depends on Aratus' age in 245 B.C. Feloch, Gr. Gesch. III, 2, p.179 ff. argues for 276/5 B.C. I follow Tarn, op.cit. pp.278,361 n.50 dating his birth in 271 B.C. 25) So Sussehl, Gesch. d. gr. Literatur d. Alex. J, p.633; Feloch, Gr. Gesch. III, 1, p.634 n.1. Not so in Fauly-Wissowa, Nos. 7 and 8.

however, to free the city, for Paseas, Abantidas' father secured the tyranny. He was, in turn, murdered by Nicocles who reigned in his stead. His rule was so injurious that he nearly lost the city to the Aetolians, the friends of Antigonos, but sustained himself through his friendship with Alexander, King of Corinth and Euboea.²⁶ But an end to the tyrants was soon to come. In the general agitation of the year 252 B.C., marked by the liberation of Megalopolis and the revival of the Arcadian League against Antigonos, the men of Sicyon turned their eyes to one of the numerous political exiles, Aratus, the banished son of their constitutional archon Clinias.

Born in Sicyon in 271 B.C. and a lad of seven when Abantidas slew his father Clinias, Aratus escaped through the kindness of Abantidas' sister and was sent to Argos where he grew to manhood. His native ability of body and mind, enhanced by the influence of his father's name, marked him as the leader of the exiles and he resolved to avenge his father and liberate his native city. Having turned in vain for help to Antigonos and Ptolemy II, he confided his plans to a Sicyonian exile Aristomachus, and to two Megalopolitan friends, Ecdemus and Demophanes and proceeded with his strategem. Plutarch²⁷ tells, with a wealth of picturesque details, doubtless taken from the Memoirs of Aratus himself, the narrative of the night surprise of Sicyon in May 251 B.C.; "how Aratus threw Nicocles' spies off their guard by an ostentatious devotion to eating and drinking; how the friends got the fortifications of Sicyon measured, and had scaling-ladders openly prepared by one of the exiles, a professed ladder-maker; how they hired some brigands, the 'arch-klept' Xenophilus and his band; how on the appointed night they came up to the walls through a market-garden, having locked the gardener in his house but failed to catch his dogs, which were small

26) His relations to Alexander, Tarn, op.cit., p.355 n.35. He has pointed out also that neither Cleon, Abantidas nor Nicocles appear as partisans of Antigonos, pp.268,279,395 n.4. 27) Aratus, IV-IX.

and quarrelsome and would not make friends; how the little dogs nearly wrecked the whole undertaking which was saved by Aratus' spirit; how Menasitheus and Ptolemy were first over the wall, and Aratus secured the whole of the tyrant's mercenaries as they slept; and how at dawn, as the citizens were clustering together, ignorant and in wonder of what had happened, on their ears fell the startling cry of the herald, 'Aratus, son of Clinias, calls his countrymen to their freedom.'" ²⁸ The tyrant's house was burned and plundered. Thus was Sicyon delivered without the loss of blood, even Nicocles himself, like Jean Valjean, secretly escaped through an underground passage. With the restoration of freedom came the return of the exiles, both those who had been formally banished and those who had voluntarily fled during the tyranny. The domestic difficulties arising from the opposing claims to property by these returned exiles could only be allayed, he realized, by paying the various claimants in cash. For this purpose he made use of a sum of 175 talents, 25 of which he received from Gonatas as a gift, ²⁹ and 150 talents from Ptolemy II as the result of Aratus' own request, for which purpose he made a voyage to Egypt in person. ³⁰ With such large means at his disposal he naturally pacified the whole city.

To meet the dangers from without, Aratus took the all-important step of gaining support for Sicyon by joining it, a Dorian city, to the league of

28) I have adopted the pithy summary of Plutarch as given by Tarn, op.cit. p.363.

29) Plut. Arat. XI. Tarn, op.cit. p.364, n.59 thinks the aim was against Alexander in Corinth.

30) Plut. Arat., XII -- XV.

the ten towns of Achaia³¹ -- a step both novel and far-reaching in importance in that it was the first annexation of any city outside Achaia thereby setting an example which ultimately led to the general extension of the league into a union of the Peloponnese.

The development of the Achaean League into a great power struggling for constitutional liberty was due to the influence of several men of great ability, chief among whom was Aratus. This is not the place, however tempting it may seem, to try to sketch the career of that Sicyonian statesman and politician who for over thirty years wielded the most influential power over the league's policies and who, seventeen times, as his biographer tells us, received the tribute of confidence from his new countrymen by his election to the highest office of the federation, the generalship of the league.³² On the other hand fairness demands that it also be noted in passing that that same man with

31) Ibid. XI; Polyb. II, 43.3. Plutarch shows that the annexation of Sicyon to the league was previous to the internal measures taken by Aratus. The accepted date for its liberation and annexation to the league has been 251 B.C. From Aratus 53 where Plutarch dates the surprise of Sicyon on the fifth of Daisios from the fact that in his time the Sicyonians celebrated on that day a festival commemorative of the expulsion of the tyrant, Ferguson (J.H.S. XXX, 1910, p.197 n.38) argues for May 252 as the date. Tarn, op.cit. p.361 has examined the chronology and finds the argument for 252 unconvincing. On the other hand I am not certain why Daisios (= Anthesterion, Plut. Arat. 53) is equated with May, as is usually done unless it is argued from Plut. Camillus, 19 and Alex., 16 where he identifies the Macedonian Daisios with the Athenian Thargelion which would correspond to May. But we are hardly justified in identifying the Sicyonian month Daisios with the Macedonian Daisios for in two Delphi inscriptions naming hieromnemoi (Ditt. Syll. I³, 417,418), dating 273/1 B.C., the older shows that at the spring meeting in the archonship of Archiades, Sosicles represented Sicyon, the other, a few months later, at the fall meeting under the archonship of Eudokos, Euthydamos was the Sicyonian hieromnemon. The reason for the change is that the period of office of the hieromnemoi corresponds to the calendar of the place they represent and shows that the Sicyonian new year fell between the spring sitting (Anthesterion: Feb.) and before the fall sitting (Metageitnion: Aug.) and hence differed from the Macedonian calendar which began the new year in October. Cf. A. Mommsen, Jahresbericht 44, 1885, p.420. 32) The best account of Aratus is in Freeman, Hist. of Federal Government in Greece and Italy, pp.279 ff.

all his great and able qualities was balanced by considerable defects which, due partly to inherent weaknesses of his own character and partly to the peculiarity of the polity under which he lived, not only led him to blot his own life but also to the stultifying and undoing of his own great work. Yet, granting his errors, he retained the affections of his countrymen to the last. At his death in 214/3 B.C. the league in general joined in honor to his memory; at Sicyon he was worshipped as a hero; he had his priests and festivals, and his posterity was held in honor for many generations.³³

We left Sicyon incorporated as a constituent state of the Achaean federation, and with its internal struggles conciliated by Ptolemy's subsidy administered by Aratus. It remained loyal to the league till that was dissolved, in effect, by the Romans in 146 B.C. In this period we hear no more of foreign garrisons nor domestic tyrants. Its constitution was administered by locally elected magistrates some of whose names are preserved to us on the bronze coins struck there for local use between 251 and 146 B.C.³⁴ Only one occurrence of party strife is recorded, and that was suppressed by violence. The opportunity was supplied by the Cleomenian War when the common people of Sicyon, as in other places, were influenced by Cleomenes' coup d' état in Sparta (225) and by his economic reforms, and by indignation against Aratus for negotiating with Antigonus for the betrayal of Corinth. The poorer people thought that if they joined Cleomenes he would effect, here as in Sparta, a division of lands and the abolition of debt, while others leaned to Cleomenes in the hope that he would patronize tyranny. The agitation in the Peloponnese resulted in numerous secessions from the league in Arcadia and Argos, and Sicyon itself was nearly

33) Paus. II, 8,1; 9,4; 9,6; Plut. Arat. 1 and 53. 34) Cf. Head, Hist. Num.² p.411.

betrayed into the hands of Cleomenes.³⁵ Aratus put to death the Spartan partisans in Sicyon³⁶ but a like errand to Corinth was unsuccessful. That city voluntarily invited Cleomenes. In the spring of 223 the Spartan king laid siege to Sicyon³⁷ but lifted it three months later, withdrew to Argos and Sicyon served with Corinth the following winter, as the winter quarters of Antigonos³⁸ who was afterwards honored with a festival there.³⁹ For the rest of the Achaean period there are but scattered references to the town. During the Aetolian War, in 220 and 218 B.C. its territory was ravaged by Aetolian marauders.⁴⁰ The latter year saw the arrival of Philip of Macedonia by ship from Cirrha to Sicyon where he took up winter quarters with Aratus.⁴¹ Perhaps it is to this period of his intimacy with Aratus that the Sicyonians honored Philip with the statue whose base, signed by the sculptor Thoinias, has been found at Sicyon.⁴² Certainly at no time much subsequent to it would they thus have honored the man who became the murderer of their greatest statesman and his son. Nine years later (209), in the course of the Roman war with Macedonia we find him coming back to Sicyon on another mission. In that year P. Sulpicius had suddenly landed between Sicyon and Corinth and the Romans with their Aetolian allies overran the productive coastal plain. Philip, then at a celebration of the Nemean games, hastened to the spot with his cavalry, attacked the enemy while engaged in plunder, and drove them to their fleet which retired to Naupactus.⁴³ After such a disaster we are not surprised at the conduct of the Sicyonians when in 198 B.C. they were the recipients of a gift of ten talents and 10,000 medimni of wheat from Attalus I, king of Pergamum. For the previous benefits of reclaiming the

35) Plut. Cleomenes, 17; Ibid. Arat. 40. 36) Ibid. Arat. 40. 37) Plut. Arat. 41
 Cleom. XIX. Polyb. II, 52, 2 a siege from May to Aug. cf. Peloch, Gr. Gesch. III, 2,
 p. 735. 38) Polyb. II, 54, 5. 39) Ibid. XXX, 23, 3. 40) Polyb. IV, 13, 5 and
 68. 41) Ibid. V, 27, 3. 42) I.G. IV, 427 cf. Chap. VII, p. 120.
 43) Livy, XXVII, 31 and XXXIII, 3.

land of Apollo for them they had set up his statue in the market-place but now their devotion was increased and they voted him a statue of gold and an annual sacrifice.⁴⁴ That poverty, due probably to the war and repeated invasions by the enemy, forced them to accept voluntary gifts is strikingly confirmed by an inscription found at Sicyon.⁴⁵ The fragment, dating from about this period records the vote commissioning two men, Aratocles and Otesippus, to convey to their benefactor the thanks of the Sicyonians, to ask forgiveness for the modesty of the honors hitherto shown him but to promise him, for the future, more suitable distinction when better times should come. On six occasions Sicyon was the seat of the sessions of the league. In 218, as a courtesy to Aratus, Philip persuaded the assembly to adjourn from Aegium to Sicyon;⁴⁶ in 198 it was the scene of the special session of the assembly whose debate and final decree for alliance with Rome is recorded in great detail by Livy;⁴⁷ again in 192,⁴⁸ and in 182 when Sparta was finally reunited to the league;⁴⁹ in 169,⁵⁰ and in 168 a special session convened there to debate the Egyptian question.⁵¹ Of prominent Sicyonians connected with the league we know besides the elder Aratus, his son and grandson. The younger Aratus served as general of the league in 219/8 and went on a mission to Messene in 214; the latter went as ambassador to Egypt and Rome.⁵² Another Sicyonian, Apollonides, argued forcibly before the Achaean assembly in 185 for the rejection of Eumenes' offer to take the league into his pay, and later served as the league's ambassador to Rome. In 169 we find him speaking in opposition to those among the Achaeans who, for private gain, would declare in favor of Rome after her victory over Perseus.⁵³ It was also about this time

44) Polyb. XVIII, 16. 45) Earle, Papers of the Amer. School at Athens, V, p.16; I.G., IV, 426. cf. Wilhelm, Hermes 41, 1906, pp.76-77. 46) Polyb. V, 1,7 f.
 47) XXXII, 19-23. 48) Livy XXXV, 25. 49) Polyb., XXV, 1,5. 50) Ibid. XXVIII, 11,9. 51) Ibid. XXIX, 9,6. 52) See Prosopographia Nos.42,43. 53) See Prosopographia No.38.

that the hatred toward the pro-Roman party became most evident in Sicyon. Against Callicrates and Andronidas, the Achaean leaders of the Roman faction, their countrymen were so bitter that at the celebration of the Antigonea in Sicyon men deemed it a pollution to use the same bath with them.⁵⁴ In 156 B.C. we note that the Roman senate esteemed Sicyonian statesmen for reliability by referring to them for arbitration the complaint of the Oropians against the Athenians.⁵⁵ On the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. the Sicyonians acquired a part of their territory as a help to defray the expenses of the Isthmian games which that city was to conduct in the future.⁵⁶ Finally there is a bit of fragmentary but reliable evidence that must be referred to the Achaean period showing the good relations existing between Sicyon and the people of Pagae and Magnesia. A public decree⁵⁷ by the people of Pagae in the Megarid praises the Sicyonians with the Achaeans for their continued friendship and benevolence toward their city in all its hardships, and grants to their benefactors exemption from the usual taxes, the privilege of the best seats at their games, and the right to compete in all the contests held by the people of Pagae. A copy of the decree was ordered given both the Sicyonians and the Achaeans. Another decree,⁵⁸ passed by the Sicyonians but found at Magnesia on the Meander, relates how they received the Magnesian ambassadors and voted approval of a sacrifice, an assembly, an armistice, and musical, gymnastic and curule contests that were proposed by the Magnesians in accordance with an oracle of Artemis Leucophryne.

54) Polyb. *XXY*, 23 (20), 2 f. 55) Paus. *VII*, 11, 4 and 5. The literature on the question at issue is cited by Hitzig-Flüßner, Paus. *II*, 2, p.793 f.
56) Paus. *II*, 2,2; Strabo, *VIII*. p.381. An inscription has been found at Corinth referring to the Sicyonian boundary but the forms of the letters make it too late to refer it to this period. A.J.A. *VII*, 1903, p.58, n.36. 57) I.G. *VII*, 189.
58) Kern, *Insch. von Magnesia am Meander*, No. 41.

Sect. 2. Sicyon in Roman Times.

Regarding Sicyon in Roman times there is a dearth of information.

We learn, however, from a Senate decree of 112 B.C. that it had been the meeting-place⁵⁹ for a revolting faction of the Dionysiac artists from the Isthmus and Nemea who had split the general league into a Peloponnesian and central Grecian faction. The seceding faction's boycotting of the Athenian members, their appropriation of the general league's property and funds led ultimately to an appeal by the Athenian section to the Senate at Rome and the decree of the year above mentioned recognizing the privileges of the Athenians. About 80 B.C. Verres sought money from the magistrate of Sicyon, not an incredible act, according to Cicero⁶⁰ for that sort of thing had happened before but Verres, when the magistrate refused to pay, shut him in a small room, built a fire of green wood and nearly choked the magistrate to death. By 60 B.C. the Sicyonians had in some way become indebted to Atticus.⁶¹ The supposition is he had lent them money. His effort to collect the debt was evidently unaccomplished on his first journey to Greece,⁶² and his attempt to obtain letters from the Senate advising the Sicyonians to pay were in vain surely by April of 59⁶³ but he probably had such when he left for Greece in the course of that year.⁶⁴ Whether he collected the debt we do not know but it is tempting to infer that

59) So Colin, F.C.H. XXIII, 1899, p.18, lines 4,10; Fouilles de Delphes, III., 2, p.79, lines 20,26 restores the inscription, cf. p.82. But Klaffenbach, *Symbolae ad Hist. Coll. Artif. Paecchiorum*, p.45 n.1 thinks I.G. IV, 558 (cf. Vollgraff, *Memosyne*, 49, 1921, pp.113 ff.) disproves the fact they met in Sicyon. It seems from line 26 that the restoration is correct and we know that Sicyon had a league of Dionysiac artists from F.C.H., 28, 1899, p.54 n.966 = F. d. D., III, 2, p.84 d and that they performed there at the festival to Aratus (Plut. Arat. 53). For a discussion of the whole episode see Poland, *Gesch. des griech. Vereinswesens*, pp.135 ff.; Ziebarth, *Rh. Mus.* 55, 1900 pp.515 ff. 60) Act. in Verr. II, lib. I, 17,44 and 45. 61) Cicero, ad Att. II, 19,9. cf. Miss Byrne, *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, pp. 5 ff. 62) ad Att. I, 20,4. 63) *ibid.* II, 13,2. 64) *ibid.* II, 21,6.

he was the one who forced the payment for in 58, under the aedileship of Scaurus, the paintings in Sicyon had to be surrendered to pay the public debt and were brought to Rome probably forming a part of the great display of Scaurus.⁶⁵ In 46 B.C. Cicero recommended to his friend Sulpicius one M. Aemilius Avianius who had a banking establishment in Sicyon at the head of which was a freed man, C. Avianius Hammonius.⁶⁶ Though Aemilius Avianius was a patron of the sculptor, C. Avianius Evander, I cannot see how that fact can justify the statement that he had an establishment for the manufacture of art objects in Sicyon.⁶⁷ In 40 B.C. Fulvia, the wife of Mark Antony escaped from the commotion she had stirred up in Italy and fled to Greece where, ill and deeply grieved at her husband, she died in Sicyon in the course of that year.⁶⁸ Probably about the middle of the second century of our era the disastrous earthquake occurred of which Pausanias⁶⁹ makes mention and left the city in the depopulated and ruined state in which the periegete found it on his visit in the same century. Survivals of the Roman occupation of the city can still be seen in the rebuilt theater, a large Roman ruin probably rightly identified as a bath, and in coins of Sicyon⁷⁰ during Imperial times from Nero to the third-century Geta. With its merging into the world-wide history of Rome its separate annals are lost to view. The city, however, continued to exist in the sixth century of our era for Hierocles⁷¹ mentions New Sicyon among the chief cities of Achaëa. Under the Byzantine Empire Sicyon was called Hellas, and the inhabitants Helladici, probably in contradistinction to the surrounding Slavonic inhabitants.⁷²

65) Pliny, N.H. XXXV, 127. 66) Cic. ad Fam. XIII, 21. 67) Hatzfeld, Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique, pp.74,123 makes the statement.
 68) Cass. Dio, XLVIII, 28; Appian V, 55; Plut., Antony XXX. 69) II, 7,1. Hertzberg, Die Gesch. Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer, II, p.364 dates it 153-159; he is followed by Gurlitt, Paus. p.60. 70) Head, Hist. Num., p.411.
 71) Synecdemus, p.646,8. 72) Suidas, s.v. Σικων says ἡ νῦν Ἑλλάς. Malalas, Chron. IV, p.68 (Fonn) calls the Sicyonians Ἑλλᾶδες καὶ in G. Fhranzen, p.97,1 (Fonn) we find the term Helladic sea used for the Corinthian Gulf.

CHAPTER VII.

Sicyonian Sculptors.

It was in the field of art rather than in politics that Sicyon won her fame. Here, for a long period, was one of the chief seats of Greek artistic activity; here, one tradition has it, painting had its origin, and Pliny¹ says Sicyon was long its native home. In sculpture, too, its fame was no less great; Pliny² assigns to Putades, a native of Sicyon, the discovery of modelling in clay. Especially its school of bronze sculptors, long affiliated with that at Argos, was very important in the history of Greek athletic art. In the literary accounts of ancient authors we read the record of many of them--Canachus, Polyclitus, Patrocles, Laedalus, Cleon, Lysippus, Eutychides and many more-- names which one familiarly associates with the classical age of statuary. The record of her sculptors begins with the early sixth and continues till late into the third century when Greece fell a prey to the invader and Greek art was stifled. Even then we find pupils from her workshops in Asia Minor, removed to surroundings more favorable where Greek art flourished yet a while.

The importance of Sicyon in ancient art, however, was not confined to the statues by her craftsmen, most of which are irretrievably lost. To a Sicyonian it is that we can trace ultimately much of the information which we find in the chapters of Pliny on art. He is Xenocrates whom Pliny³ cites as having written on bronze statuary and on painting and who was himself a sculptor, a pupil of Tisicrates, or Euthyocrates. His writings are lost as are all ancient histories of art preceding Pliny, but the skillful analysis of scholars⁴ has

1) N.H. 35, 15 and 35, 127. cf. Strabo, VIII, 382. 2) N.H. 35, 151 f. 3) N.H. 34, 83 and 68. 4) cf. Robert, *Arch. Märchen aus alter und neuer Zeit*, pp.28 ff.; F. Münzer, *Hermes*, 30, 1895, pp.496-547. The best account of Xenocrates in English is Jex-Blake and Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, Intr. pp.XVI - XXXVI.

determined quite closely what portions of the Plinian account can be definitely traced back to him. This points to him as one of the first critics of antiquity who made a real attempt to tell of the rise and growth of art, and to tell it, as the modern scholar would, through the medium of the monuments themselves. To the critic of our day his method may seem crude and his judgment often biased, yet we must recognize him as the originator of conceptions on ancient art which he expressed so vigorously that they have impressed themselves on all subsequent accounts and which we find embodied, though much modified by later writers, throughout the whole Plinian account of bronze statuary and painters.

It is not within the compass of this study to trace historically the development of Sicyonian sculpture but it is rather an attempt to present, in so far as practicable, a chronological narrative dealing with the separate sculptors and the character of the monuments wrought by each. In the case of some, e.g. Polyclitus and Lysippus, who have been the subjects of whole volumes and to whose works numerous articles have been devoted, I deal with at comparatively brief length. On the other hand, I have tried to make the chapter complete by giving mention to all her known sculptors, even those who for one reason or another may be deemed of minor importance, for it is through such cumulative evidence that the importance and influence of Sicyon in ancient sculpture can be justified.

A unique story of the antiquity of sculpture in Sicyon is related by Pliny.⁵ He says that two artists, Dipoenus and Scyllis, born in Crete while the Medes still ruled in Asia before Cyrus came to the throne in Persia, that is about the fiftieth Olympiad, migrated to Sicyon where they were commissioned to make certain images of the gods, but before their completion, aggrieved at their treatment in Sicyon they departed to Aetolia. But when crop failure and

affliction came upon the Sicyonians they implored the Pythian Apollo and in consequence of his answer they prevailed upon the artists, by promise of high rewards, to complete the aforesaid statues. Pliny names the statues in question as an Apollo, Artemis, Heracles and Athena, adding that the last named was afterwards struck by lightning.

A Heracles by the same sculptors is mentioned by an Armenian historian⁶ who relates that when Cyrus conquered Croesus in Ol. 58.3 he carried off gilt bronze statues of Artemis, Heracles and Apollo and transported them to Armenia. The Apollo and Artemis were set up at Armavir, but the Heracles, which was a work of Dipoenus and Scyllis, was set up at Aschidischad. On the basis of these dates there has been much discussion⁷ as to the exact time in which they flourished but there is no apparent agreement among scholars. Ulrichs⁸ first pointed what seems to be most plausible that their activity in Sicyon was due to the enterprise of the Orthagoridae and especially Cleisthenes, the last and most aggressive of the line under whom Sicyon attained a position of national reputation.⁹

That they were workers in marble as Pliny says is hardly tenable.¹⁰ Other works by these artists mentioned by Pausanias¹¹ were wooden images. A stone image of Lindian Athena by them is mentioned on the doubtful authority of Cedrenus.¹² Further we have mention of a wooden image of Artemis Munychia¹³

6) Hist.Armen. II, p.103; Overbeck, S.Q., 326. 7) cf. K.O. Müller, Kunstarchaeologische Werke IV, pp.67-70; Brunn, Sitzungsterichte d. philos.-philol. u. hist. Klasse d. Akad. d. Wissen. zu München I, 1871, pp.545-552; Overbeck, Rhein. Museum 41, 1886, pp.67-72; Gesch. d. gr. Plastik I⁴, pp.84 ff; Robert, Arch. Märchen pp.18 ff; Pauly-Wissowa V, p.1159; Klein, Gesch. d. gr. Kunst I, pp.101-103. 8) Skopas, Leben und Werke, Arp. pp.218 ff; followed by Overbeck, Gesch. d. gr. Plastik I, p.86; Klein, l.c. and many others. 9) cf. Chap. IV, pp.51 ff. 10) Robert, l.c. p.22; Münzer, l.c., p.523; Jex-Flake and Sellers, op.cit., XXV. 11) II, 15,1; 22,5. 12) Comp. Hist. p.322 F = S.Q. 327. 13) Clem. Alex. Protrept. IV, p.42 (ed. Potter).

in Sicyon which can probably be identified with the Artemis of Pliny. The gilt bronze statues carried off by Croesus were more likely of gilt wood. Their work was probably in wood inlaid with ivory such as is described on the chest of Cypselus.

Müller conjectured that the Artemis, Heracles and Apollo formed a group representing the contest of Heracles and Apollo for the tripod as represented on vase paintings, and when the Athena was destroyed, the Sicyonians disposed of the group to Croesus.¹⁴ Frunn¹⁵ and Klein¹⁶ are inclined to believe in this group arrangement but think that the statues of Croesus were copies of the Sicyonian group. The view has been put forward¹⁷ that they were cult statues set up in the temples of Athena, Apollo and Artemis, and Heracles at Sicyon, but this is disputed because of the silence of Pausanias as to the makers of the statues.¹⁸ Of these the first conjecture is hardly possible, else how did the others escape when Athena was burned by lightning and why was the Heracles set up alone if he were part of a group? A possible but arbitrary solution regarding all the works of these early sculptors is that of Robert¹⁹ who conjectures that Pliny wrongly places the Heracles from Tiryns and an Athena from Cleonae in Sicyon, leaving there then only an Apollo and Artemis.

About a generation later than Dipoenus and Scyllis Aristocles²⁰ founded a school whose pupils were active through seven generations in different parts of the Greek world, especially Chios and Aegina.²¹ The

14) l.c., p.69. 15) ^{Frisch-König} op.cit. I, p.44. 16) op.cit., I, pp.102-3. 17) H.von Rohden, Arch. Zeit.34, 1876, pp.122-3; Overbeck, Rhein. Museum 41, 1886, p.71. 18) II, 11,1; II, 10,1. 19) Pauly-Wissowa V, p.1159. 20) Paus. VI, 9,1. 21) Ibid., VI, 3,11; VI, 9,1 and 3. Frunn, Gesch. d. gr. Künstler I, p.80 placed Aristocles 500 B.C. and the last of his line, Pantias, 380 B.C. Dittenberger-Purgold, Insch. von Olympia p.295, No.170 place him in the middle of the fourth century. But Pantias made a statue of Aristeus (Paus. VI, 9,3) who was a son of Cleimon who won in Ol. 83= 448 B.C. (Oxyr.-Pap. Vol.II, No.30XXII, pp.90,95) so the victory of Aristocles would fall later, between Ol. 86-93 = 436-408 B.C. making Pantias of the fifth century and consequently Aristocles must be placed in the first half of the sixth century. cf. Robert, Hermes 35, 1900, pp.179, 193; Hitzig-Elmner, Paus. II, pp.544, 606. The other Aristocles was brother of Canachus, who was active before 493 B.C. cf. n.30.

brothers, Aristocles and Canachus, probably grandsons of the former, were associated with Hageladas, the greatest of the Argive sculptors in the archaic period, in the making of a group of three Muses of which the Muse with the lyre was the work of Aristocles.²² The group may well have stood in Sicyon as we know that there was a cult of the three Muses there.²³ Aside from this we know nothing more of Aristocles than that his reputation among the ancients was scarcely excelled by Canachus.²⁴ The latter, aside from the work on the aforementioned Muses, made the cult statue of Aphrodite²⁵ for her temple in Sicyon, a bronze statue of Apollo Philesius²⁶ for the temple of the Franchidae at Didyma near Miletus and its exact copy of cedar wood, the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes.²⁷ Most famous was the Apollo Philesius, one of the oldest works of the archaic school in the Peloponnesus of which we have any definite knowledge. It is known from a long series of copper coins²⁸ of Miletus down into Roman times which represent the god nude holding in his left hand a bow and in his right a stag. The Payne-Knight bronze in the British Museum²⁹ is clearly copied from the same statue which is represented on the coins. The god is represented standing nude, in his right hand stretched straight out from the elbow he holds a stag, and in the left somewhat lower, he grasps a bow. The breast is well developed and broad, the entire figure square and muscular. The hair, bound with a fillet,

22) Antip. of Sidon, Anth. Pal. XVI, No.220. 23) Plut. Quaest. conv. IX, 14,7, p.746 E. 24) Rangabe, quoted by Loewy, I.G.B., No.10 identified Aristocles with the sculptor of the famous Aristion stele. I have found no one who follows him in this. Most scholars say the work is Attic. 25) Paus. II, 10,4. 26) Pliny, N.H. 34, 75; Paus., VIII, 46,3; IX, 10,2; II, 10,4; I, 16,3. 27) Ibid. IX, 10,2. 28) Gardner, Types of Gr. coins, Pl. XV, Nos.15-16; Head, Hist. Num., 2, p.586; Collignon-Thraemer, op.cit., I, p.328, figs. 153-155; Overbeck, Kunstmythologie des Apollon, pp.23 ff., and Münztafel I, Nos.22 ff. On gems also, Furtwängler, Antike Gemmen, II, p.190, Nos. 1 and 2 with plates. 29) Catalog of Bronzes in Fr. Mus.. No.209 and Pl. I (middle); Paille, Der schöne Mensch, Pl.38 (middle); Collignon-Thraemer, op.cit., I, p.329, fig.156; Furtwängler, Roscher, Lex., I, 1, p.451; von Nach, Handbook of Gr. and Roman Sculp. p.11, Pl.17a; Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité, VIII, p.475, fig.242; Reinach, Répertoire, II, 90,9. Further bibliography, Catalog of Bronzes in Fr. Mus. p.20.

falls in locks over both shoulders. The general style is somewhat stiff and austere.³⁰

A bronze statuette now in the Louvre known as the Piombino Apollo also probably represents the famous statue by Canachus.³¹ Its genuineness as an archaic work has been proved by Overbeck.³² Especially characteristic of archaism are its pose with both feet planted firmly on the ground, and the small head and long legs. Of similar type, though different in style, is the small archaic bronze 1.11 metres high formerly in the Palazzo Sciarra.³³ A bronze statuette from Naxos now in Berlin³⁴, another found by Hollaux at the temple of Ptoan Apollo in Foetia³⁵ which is similar in pose to the Piombino, and a fragmentary marble statue³⁶ found at the same place which shows by the rendering of the hair that it was copied from a bronze may all be imitations of the Didymean Apollo. In the opinion of Kekulé a bronze statuette of a spear-thrower³⁷ in the Louvre affords the best study of the style of Canachus. Recently two reliefs³⁸ of Roman date from Miletus have come to light, showing the

30) The Philesian Apollo by Canachus must have been made before 493 B.C. for in that year it was stolen by Darius (Herod. VI, 19) but Paus., VIII, 46,3 wrongly says Xerxes. cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*² III, p.309. It was restored from Ekbatana by Seleucus Nicator (Paus., l.c. and I, 16,3). 31) De Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, I, Pl.II, 2 and p.7; Brunn-Eruckmann, *Denkmäler gr. und röm. Skulptur*, Pl.78; Collignon-Thraemer, *op.cit.*, Pl.V, opp. p.328; von Mach, *op.cit.*, pp.13-14, Pl.18 (two views); Overbeck, *Gesch. d. gr. Plastik*⁴, I, p.235, fig.60 (two views); Perrot-Chipiez, *op.cit.*, VIII, Pl. XI; Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, p.119, fig.19; Reinach, *op.cit.*, II, 84, 9. Complete Bibliography in Deonna, *Les Apollons archaïques*, p.274. Overbeck, *op.cit.*, p.236, followed by von Mach, l.c. think it represents a boy at a sacrifice originally holding a cup in one hand and a saucer in the other. 32) *op.cit.*, I, p.234 and note. 33) Studniczka, *Ösm. Mitt.*, II, 1887, pp.80 ff. and Pl. IV, I, Va and V; Collignon-Thraemer, *op.cit.*, I, p.338 fig.161; Overbeck, *op.cit.*, I⁴, p.239, fig.62. 34) Bränkel, *Arch. Zeit.*, 37, 1879, pp.84-91, Pl.VII; Collignon-Thraemer *op.cit.*, I, p.338, fig. 161; Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie des Apollons III*, p.36, fig.8. 35) F.C.H., X, 1886, pp.190-196, Pl. IX. 36) l.c. pp. 269-275, Pl. XI (without head); XI, 1887, pp.275-287, Pl. XIII, XIV; Collignon-Thraemer, *op.cit.*, I, p.332, fig. 157 (two views); Leonna, *op.cit.*, No.31; Gardner, *Handbook of Gr. Sculpt.*², p.169, fig.31; Hyde, *op.cit.*, p.104, fig.13 (right); von Mach *op.cit.* Pl. 15b (right); Reinach, *op.cit.*, II, 77,4 (without head), cf. II, 11, 4, 5 and 5; Stais, *Marbres et bronzes du Musée National d'Athènes*², pp.12-13, No.20. 37) Sitzb. Berl. Akad. d. Wissen., 1904, pp.794 ff., fig. p.796; Longperier, *op.cit.*, No.66; Kalkmann, *Jahrbuch*, VII, 1892, pp.127 ff., Pl. IV. 38) Kekulé, l.c., fig. on p.787 and 797; another by Wiegand, *Abh. Berl. Akad. d. Wissen., Philosoph.-histor. Cl.*, 1911, p.21.

great popularity of the statue.

Pliny³⁹ says that the stag was so poised upon its feet that a thread could be drawn beneath them in such a way as to make it rock backwards and forwards but the attempts made to explain the mechanism have resulted in no apparent agreement.⁴⁰

About his Aphrodite at Sicyon, the boys on the racehorses, and the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, we are less well informed. The latter was an exact copy of the Phileasian Apollo except that it was made of cedar.⁴¹ His seated Aphrodite, of gold and ivory, the cult statue in her sanctuary at Sicyon, was the great monumental illustration of Aphrodite Urania, reminding us of the Semitic Astarte by the symbols attached to her. "The 'polos' on her head was the badge of 'the queen of the heavens'; the apple in her hand referred to the processes of life, the power of fertility in the world of plants and animals that was her prerogative; the poppy in her other hand may have been a symbol of Aphrodite Mandragoritis, the goddess who lulls the senses and gives sweet sleep."⁴² Pliny^{42a} says he also worked in marble. The variety of the materials he used and the subjects he represented, is remarkable as compared to the monotonous series of bronze athletic statues characteristic of his school. His best efforts were evidently devoted to the making of statues of the gods, though the "boys on the race-horses" probably refer to athletic sculpture. As to his style we have but the vague criticism of Cicero⁴³ that his figures were too stiff to be natural, and less advanced than those of Calamis. Unlike many other masters he founded no school unless the Theban, Ascarus, was his pupil.⁴⁴

39) 34, 75. 40) cf. Peterson, Arch. Zeit., 38, pp.22 ff., 192 ff; Nahler, Jour. inter. d'arch. Numis., 4, 1901, pp.107 ff., Pl.XI; Cecil Smith, Proc. of the Soc. of Antiq. of London, 2nd ser., XI, 1895-1897, pp.251-255; cf. Frazer, Paus., IV, p.431. 41) Robert, Arch. Märchen, p.96 doubts the identification by Pausanias. But the statue may have had an inscription. 42) Farnell, Cults II, p.679-680. cf. Chap. I, p.22, n.98. 42a) N.H. 36,41. 43) Plutarch 18,70. 44) Paus., V, 24, 1. cf. Brunn. op.cit., pp.64,112. Klein, Arch. epigr. Mitt. aus Oester.-Ungarn, V, 1882, p.103, thinks he was a pupil of Aristocles.

To Hageladas of Argos, the co-worker with Canachus and Aristocles, tradition assigns as pupils the three great masters of the fifth century, Myron, Phidias, and Polyclitus.⁴⁵ The relation has in all three cases been doubted, though on chronological grounds the connection with Myron and Polyclitus is entirely credible. Least of all ought the relation between Polyclitus and Hageladas to be challenged⁴⁶ whose home and artistic connections combine to attest to the truth of the statement. There can be little doubt that the lower limit to the activity of Hageladas is marked by the bronze statue of Zeus Ithomatas for the Messenians to be set up in Naupactus, to which they removed in 465 B.C.⁴⁷ Polyclitus' earliest athlete statues we now know are for victories won in 452 B.C. and even by inference 460 B.C. which makes possible the collaboration of master and pupil for four or five years.⁴⁸ At any rate, everyone will admit that as head of the Argive school in the generation after Hageladas, Polyclitus certainly accepted the tradition of this school if we infer the style of Hageladas from the bronze statuette from Ligurio⁴⁹ which is contemporary with the later period of Hageladas' life and seems to be the prototype of Polyclitus' Doryphorus.⁵⁰

45) For Myron, *Pliny*, N.H. 34, 57; Polyclitus, *ibid.* 34, 55; Phidias, *scholia Aristop.*, *Progs* 504. 46) As by Robert, *Arch. Märchen*, pp.98 ff. cf. also Furtwängler, *op.cit.*, pp.196 ff.; Mahler, *Polyklet und seine Schule*, p.6; Klein, *Gesch. d. gr. Kunst*, I, p.340; II, pp.142 ff. After the discovery of Oxy. Pap. CCXXII, Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxy. Pap.* II, pp.185 ff. Robert in *Hermes* 35, 1900, p.186 places the lower limit of Polyclitus' birth in 477 B.C. 47) *Paus.* IV, 33,2. 48) Pfuhl in *Fauly-Missowa*, VII, pp.2192 ff. shows this is very possible. cf. also Hyde, *op.cit.*, p.110; Gardner, *op.cit.* p.358; Furtwängler, *op.cit.*, p.196, followed by Mahler, l.c. and Klein, *op.cit.* I, p.340 believe it impossible and assume Argeiadas (mentioned in *Loewy*, I.G.F. No.30) as the intermediate artist and teacher of Polyclitus. On his chronology cf. also *Anti in Mon. Ant.*, 26, 1920, pp.650 ff. which is the latest and most exhaustive study of Polyclitus that has appeared. 49) cf. Furtwängler, 50 *stes Berl. Winckelmannsprog.*, 1890, pp.152-153, Pl. I; Gardner, *op.cit.* p.221, fig.49; Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, p.93, fig.11; Hyde, *op.cit.* fig.16; von Mach, *op.cit.*, 17 b; Reinach, *op.cit.*, II, 85,1; Collignon-Thraemer, *op.cit.* I, p.336, fig.162. 50) Furtwängler, l.c. cf. *Frost*, *J.H.S.* 23, 1903, p.223; Hyde, *op.cit.*, p.111.

Py birth Polyclitus was a Sicyonian⁵¹ and came from a family of sculptors, some of whom worked at Argos, others at Sicyon and designate themselves as Argives or Sicyonians. This emphasizes the close affiliation of the two schools which lasted from early times into the fourth century. The migration of sculptors from one school to the other would be natural and easy since both towns were Dorian and the distance but a day's walk. The fame of Polyclitus, however, was made at Argos as the recognized head of the athlete school of sculpture in the Peloponnese.

The bases of four of his statues of victorious athletes have been found at Olympia. The earliest recorded statue is that of Cyniscus, an Olympic victor in the boys' boxing match which may be assigned to about 460 B.C. He also made statues of the pentathlete Pythocles, and the boxer Aristion, who won in 452 B.C., and of Thersilochus, a boy boxer, who was victorious in 432 B.C.⁵² Marks of the attachment of the feet on extant bases show they were represented at rest and give us otherwise so much valuable information as to his earlier work that it has enabled archaeologists⁵³ to identify several extant statues of boy athlete victors as copies of figures by Polyclitus at Olympia. Conspicuous among them is the Westmacott athlete⁵⁴ in the British Museum. The anatomy is rather mature for a boy but it combines beauty of form with modesty and unaffected simplicity.

The two greatest statues of the athletic type, neither of which were

51) So Pliny N.H. 34, 55, Paus. VI, 6,2 and 13,7, and Plato, Protag., p.311 c, call him an Argive. So also in inscriptions, Loewy, op.cit., Nos.91,92. He may have been made an honorary citizen of Argos after making the statue of Hera. cf. Anti, l.c. p.650. 52) Cyniscus: Paus. VI, 4,11; Insch. von Ol. No.149. Pythocles: Paus. VI, 7,10; Insch. von Ol. Nos. 162-163; Loewy, op.cit., No.91. Aristion: Paus. VI, 13,6; Insch. von Ol. No.165; Loewy, op.cit., No.92. Thersilochus: Paus. VI, 13,6. 53) See especially Furtwängler, Masterpieces, pp.249 ff. and Hyde, op.cit., pp.156-160. 54) Fr. Mus. Sculp. III, No.1754; Brunn-Bruckmann, op.cit., Pl. 46; Collignon-Thraemer, op.cit. I, p.529, fig. 255; Furtwängler, op.cit., fig.105; Reinach, op.cit., II, p.546, fig.9; Mahler, op.cit., p.50, fig.10; Hyde, op.cit., Pl. 19.

statues of individual victors but rather ideal conceptions of athletic forms were the Doryphorus and the Diadumenus.⁵⁵ The Doryphorus was most famous, being known as the Canon, because Polyclitus made it to embody his idea of the perfect male form and the principles of proportion he adopted as normal.⁵⁶ Neither the system of proportions nor the great beauty of the original can be fully realized from its numerous Roman copies⁵⁷ which exaggerate characteristics of heaviness and massiveness and, being of marble, fail to reveal that finish of execution possible in bronze in which Polyclitus is said to have been superior even to Phidias.

The first copy of the Doryphorus to be identified and the best preserved is that from Pompeii now in the Naples Museum.⁵⁸ It represents a thickset youth standing with the weight of the body on the right leg, the left thrown back resting on the toes, ready to advance. The position is momentary, theoretically he is at rest, but is ready to advance. His left hand held a short spear over the shoulder, whence comes the name Doryphorus or spear bearer. Of the numerous replicas of the bust a bronze of the Augustan age, also in Naples,⁵⁹ reproduces the material but lacks the expression the original must have had. Most copies give the effect of heaviness and overmusculature, especially exaggerated about the abdomen. The fine workmanship of Polyclitus in bronze is probably best shown in the marble torso from the Furtalis collection in Berlin⁶⁰ with its less exaggerated muscles and more evenly curved surfaces. The popularity

55) Pliny, N.H. 34, 55 enumerates some of his works. 56) For proportions of extant copies see Hyde, *op.cit.*, p.70. 57) Mahler, *op.cit.*, pp.26-27 enumerates the copies. Good discussions are by Furtwängler, *op.cit.*, pp.226-238 and Hyde, *op.cit.* pp.335 ff; Gardner, *Six Greek Sculptors*, p.122 f. 58) Brunn-Fruekmann, *op.cit.*, No.273; Fülle, *op.cit.*, pp.97-102 fig.18 and Pl. 47; von Mach, *op.cit.*, Pl. 113; Gardner, *op.cit.*, fig. 90; *ibid.* Six Greek Sculptors, Pl. XXXIV; Collignon-Thraemer, *op.cit.*, I, Pl. 12; Hyde, *op.cit.* Pl. 4; Mahler, *op.cit.*, fig. 5. 59) Brunn-Fruekmann, *op.cit.*, No.336; Collignon-Thraemer, *op.cit.*, I, p.524, fig. 252; Hyde, *op.cit.*, p.224, fig.47. 60) Friederichs-Volters, *Die Gipsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke*, No.507; Bayet, *Monuments de l'art antique* I, Pl.29.

of the statue can be judged from its free adaptation at Perga, showing a nude youth holding a spear and standing beside his horse.⁶¹ Particularly noteworthy is the original rendering of the hair in all the copies but best seen in the bronze head from Ferculaneum in that its short, waving tresses, though close to the skull, lie in superimposed layers on the head contrasting both with later art where it stands out freely and that of the Discobolus of Myron where the individual hairs are outlined in a hard line over the forehead.

In the other of Polyclitus' famous athlete statues, the Diadumenus, the same attitude is retained except that the arms are raised to bind a fillet of victory around the brow. Extant copies help us realize Pliny's statement that the Doryphorus was a "viriliter puer" and the Diadumenus "molliter Juvenis"⁶² for the several recognized copies⁶³ show more slenderness and elasticity of body. The gracefulness of the original is best seen in the fine Hellenistic marble from Delos,⁶⁴ now in Athens, which in workmanship far surpasses the Vaison⁶⁵ marble copy which exaggerates too much the musculature of the body. With the Delian Diadumenus ranks the beautiful and well preserved Roman marble copy in Madrid.⁶⁶ Of the head alone⁶⁷ the marble copies in Dresden⁶⁸ and Cassel⁶⁹ are the best. The former is a very detailed and a more carefully finished work than the Cassel

61) Furtwängler, Athen. Mitt. III, 1878, pp.287-298 with Pl. XII; Brunn-Frueckmann, op.cit., No.279; Collignon-Thraemer, op.cit., I, p.519, fig.250; Mahler, op.cit., fig.7. 62) N.E. 34, 55. 63) Listed by Mahler, op.cit., p.73; Furtwängler, op.cit. pp.239 ff. discusses them. 64) Rolfe, op.cit., Pl. 50; Couve, I.C.H., XIX, 1895, pp.484-485 and Pl. VIII; Gardner, Six Greek Sculptors, Pl. 35; Hyde, op.cit., Pl. 18; von Mach, op.cit., Pl. 115; Springer-Michaelis, op.cit., p.277, fig.498; Reinach, op.cit., II, 547, 9; Mahler, op.cit., fig.20. 65) In Fr. Mus. cf. Fr. Mus. Sculpt. I, No.500; Marbles and Fonzes, Pl. V; Brunn-Frueckmann, op.cit., No.272; Collignon-Thraemer, op.cit., I, p.525, fig.253; von Mach, op.cit., Pl.114; Hyde, op.cit., p.153, fig. 2^a; Gardner, Handbook of Gr. Sculp.,² fig.91; Reinach, op.cit., II, 547, 5. 66) Furtwängler, op.cit., p.241, fig.98; von Mach, op.cit., No.116 a; Reinach, op.cit., I, 475, 6. 67) Listed by Mahler, op.cit., p.74; discussed by Furtwängler, op.cit., pp.240 ff. 68) Annali dell' Instituto, XLIII, 1871, Pl. V; Furtwängler, op.cit., Pl. X and XI; Gardner, Six Gr. Sculptors, Pl.36 (two views); Hyde, op.cit., p.154, fig.29.² 69) Brunn-Frueckmann, op.cit., No.340; Conze, Beiträge zur Gesch. d. gr. Plastik, 1869, pp.3 ff. with Pl. 2 (two views).

head. A bronze head in the Ashmolean Museum,⁷⁰ Oxford, rivals all others in finish and beauty and helps us realize more fully the perfection attained by the fifth century bronze casters in the school of Polyclitus. It is noticeable that while the body forms and attitudes of the Doryphorus and Diadumenus can hardly be distinguished, the head of the Diadumenus is of a different character. The Doryphorus head is flat on top, deep from back to front and almost angular in contour; that of the Diadumenus is much more rounded and soft, suggesting Attic influence and has led to the assumption that Polyclitus came under the influence of the schools of Myron and Phidias.

The statue considered by ancient writers the masterpiece of Polyclitus was that of Hera at Argos. Martial⁷¹ says Phidias would have been proud to claim it; Eutarch⁷² compares it to the Olympian Zeus; and Strabo⁷³ goes so far as to say it surpassed in beauty even the works of Phidias. From Pausanias⁷⁴ we get its fullest description. The colossal image, of gold and ivory, was enthroned, holding in one hand a pomegranate, in the other a scepter surmounted by a cuckoo, the bird in whose form Zeus had appeared to Hera. On her head was a crown, decorated with figures of the Hours and Graces. The statue has of course entirely disappeared but the description gives a fair idea of the composition and arrangement of the statue and has led to the identification of the image on Roman Imperial coins of Argos from Antoninus Pius⁷⁵ and ~~Roma~~ ⁷⁶ and in other parts of the ancient world.⁷⁷ Considering the great and widespread influence of Polyclitus' other statues evident from extant works of Graeco-Roman

70) F.Gardner, J.H.S., XXXIX, 1910, pp.69 ff. with Pl. I (two views). 71) X, 89.
 72) Pericles, 2. 73) VIII, p.372. 74) II, 17,4. 75) Imhoof-Gardner, Numism. Comment. on Paus. (J.H.S. VI, 1885), Pl. LIV (I), No.15; Frazer, Paus. III, p.185, fig. 30; Hitzig-Plümmer, Paus. I, part 2, Pl. XVI, No.20; Overbeck, Kunstmyth. III, Münztafel III, No.1. 76) Imhoof-Gardner, ibid., Nos. XII, XIII; Frazer, ibid., p.184; Hitzig-Plümmer, ibid., No.18; Head, Hist. Num. pp.438-439; Fr. Mus. Catal. of Gr. Coins, Pelop. Argos, No.156; Overbeck, Kunstmyth, III, Münztafel III, Nos. 2 and 3. 77) Overbeck, l.c. Münztafel II.

times archaeologists have naturally looked for reproductions of this, his most famous statue. So far several heads have been classed as the Polyclitan Hera but only to be excluded.⁷⁸ The best claim to being Polyclitan is a marble head in the British Museum⁷⁹ though Gardner doubts its identification as Hera.⁸⁰ In the marbles from the Argive Heraeum Waldstein⁸¹ sees the influence of the style of Polyclitus and identified one of the finest heads⁸² as that of Hera and assigned it to the school of Polyclitus, but this is denied by Furtwängler who considers the head as not that of Hera and the sculptures as Attic in style.⁸³

Regarding the Amazon made by Polyclitus we have more evidence. Pliny⁸⁴ relates that a series of four of these statues were dedicated in the Artemision at Ephesus, made by sculptors of different periods, who, in a competition of merit, voted the awards to Polyclitus, Phidias, Cresilas and Phradmon respectively. The truth of the tradition has been questioned. Some archaeologists⁸⁵ believe the story literally true that four Amazon statues were made for Ephesus by the four artists named and see in the preserved statues copies from the four types originally made, while others⁸⁶ recognize but three main types. Amid all the attempts to satisfactorily name the author of each type there is one fact universally agreed on, namely that extant statues of the Perlin type⁸⁷ of Amazon, at least, represent the type originated by Polyclitus. Extant statues of this type unmistakably reveal his style. The attitude recalls that of the Diadumenus,

78) cf. Eitrem in Pauly-Wissowa, VIII, pp.389 ff. 79) Waldstein, J.H.S. XXI, 1901, pp.30-44; Pl. II and III. 80) Gardner, Handbook of Gr. Sculp., p.365, n.1; cf. Lechat, Rev. des Et. gr. XIV, p.436. 81) Argive Heraeum I, pp.162-176. 82) l.c. p.189; Frontispiece and Pl. XXVI; Frazor, Faus. III, p.170, fig.24. 83) Arch. Studien H. Brunn dargebracht (Berlin 1893), p.90; Masterpieces, p.223, n.1. 84) 34, 53. 85) Especially Furtwängler, Masterpieces pp.128 ff. 86) Following Michaelis, Jahrbuch I, 1886, pp.14-47. 87) Ivile, op.cit., Pl.144; Brunn-Truckmann, op.cit., No.348; Collignon-Thraemer, op.cit. I, p.533, fig.256; Mahler, op.cit., fig.23; Gardner, op.cit., p.366, fig.92; von Hach, No.118; Michaelis, Jahrbuch, I, 1886, Pl. III, 1; Monum., IX, 12; Overbeck, Gesch. d. gr. Plastik, I, p.516, fig.128 a; Reinach, op.cit., II, p.324, 2. For further bibliography cf. Michaelis, l.c. n.15.

the square head and heavy jaw resemble the Coryphæus, the womanly character of the Amazon scarcely appears in the vigorous, athletic male form so characteristic of Polyclitus' figures.

Some of the statues seen by Pausanias, as the Zeus Mellichios at Argos, Aphrodite at Amyclæ, and the Apollo, Leto and Artemis near Argos,⁸⁸ and mentioned as works of Polyclitus quite certainly belong to his younger namesake. We now know with certainty that the latter was author of the Xenocles⁸⁹ statue whose base has been recovered at Olympia and whose foot-prints have led to the identification of other statues that belong clearly to the sphere of Polyclitus' pupils. Among them are the original Greek bronze in Paris, Roman marbles in the Vatican and at Wellesley College and, probably belonging to this cycle, one of the finest bronzes from antiquity, the famous Idolino in Florence.⁹⁰

In the school that succeeded Polyclitus there appeared important artists both at Sicyon and Argos but until Lysippus in the next century no masters of great fame are mentioned. Though statues of athletes are its most frequent theme, it produced also many statues of the gods, and also great groups of historical and mythological figures. Of such a character was the great public dedication by the Lacedæmonians at Delphi in honor of the defeat of Athens at Aegospotami. Pausanias⁹¹ tells us the subject was an assembly of the gods, with Poseidon crowning the victorious admiral, Lysander, in the presence of the leaders of the Lacedæmonian allies. The four sculptors who made the figures of the men, twenty-eight in number, were Tisander, and the Sicyonians Alypus, Patrocles and Canachus.

88) II, 20,1; III, 18,8; II, 24,5. 89) Paus. VI, 9,2. cf. *Insch. von Ol.* No.164.
90) Hyde, *op.cit.*, pp.13^c-143 with notes. 91) X, 9,7 ff.

Alypus we know as the pupil of the Argive Naucydes,⁹² who was apparently the brother of the elder Polyclitus.⁹³ Besides making seven of the figures for the trophy at Delphi from which the base of the statue of Theopompus with his signature has been recovered,⁹⁴ he made four athlete statues for Olympia. These were of the wrestler Symmachus, son of Aeschylus, an Elean; of the boy boxer Neolaidas, son of Proxenus from Pheneus; of the boy wrestler Archidamus, son of Xenius, an Elean, and of the wrestler, Euthymenes of Mainalos, all of whom must have won between 404 and 364 B.C.⁹⁵

Canachus, evidently named for the elder Canachus of Sicyon, was a pupil of Polyclitus the elder. He partook in the making of the Delphi votive offering and produced the statue of Eucelus, the first Sicyonian boy boxer and who won his victory between 412 and 360 B.C.⁹⁶

Py Patrocles, the co-worker with Canachus at Delphi, we know of no particular statues of athletes from Pausanias but Pliny⁹⁷ names him among those who made statues of athletes, armed men and hunters. As a pupil of the elder Polyclitus and probably his son⁹⁸ two works originating in the Polyclitan cycle have been assigned to him. So Furtwängler⁹⁹ suggested him as the author of the life-size original Greek bronze statue of a boy in Florence, the famous Idolino¹⁰⁰ which has been claimed both as Myronian and Phidian. Because of its resemblance in form to the Idolino he has also assigned to him the original of

92) Paus. VI, 1,3. 93) Paus. II, 22,7. On the relationship between the members of Polyclitus' family and their pupils see esp. Robert, *Olympische Sieger*, Hermes, 35, 1900, pp.190-193. 94) F.C.H., 21, 1897, p.287, No.2799. Theopompus was a Pelian, not a Lyndian, as Paus. l.c. says. 95) Paus. VI, 1, 3 and 8, 5. For date cf. Hyde, op.cit., p.120 and n.3. 96) Paus. VI, 13,7. cf. Pliny N.H. 34, 50. For date cf. Hyde, l.c. 97) N.H. 34, 91; cf. *ibid.*, 50. 98) See Robert, l.c., p.192 and note 2; Mahler, op.cit., p.10. Furtwängler, op.cit., pp. 226 and 286 and Hyde, op.cit., p.117 call Patrocles a brother of the elder Polyclitus. 99) Masterpieces, p.286. cf. Hyde, op.cit., pp.141 ff. for other views and a discussion of its interpretation. 100) Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, No. 268; Brunn-Bruckmann, op.cit., Nos.274-277; Eulke, *Der schöne Mensch*, Pl.52,53 and 204,205 (head); Collignon-Thraemer, op.cit., I, pp.508-509, fig.247 (statue), 248 (head); Hyde, op.cit., Pl.14; von Meck, op.cit., No.123; Weinach, op.cit., II,588,2; Lange, *Darstellung des Menschen*, p.218, fig.69.

the bronze figure of the boy from Carinthia now in Vienna,¹⁰¹ which he judges to be, unlike the Idolino, not an original Greek but a Roman work in imitation of an Argive statue of a victorious athlete.¹⁰²

Daedalus, the son and pupil of Patrocles¹⁰³ was, to judge by literary and inscriptional evidence, the most prolific of the Sicyonian branch of the Polyclitan family. He produced both athletic genre as well as athletic portraits and was engaged on great historical groups at Olympia and Delphi. His chronology is fixed by his athlete statues of which he had five at Olympia. These were made for the runner, Eupolemus, who won in 396 P.C.¹⁰⁴ and the wrestler Aristodemus who won his victory in 388 P.C.¹⁰⁵ The date of the victory of the wrestler, Tharycidas of Phigalia, is uncertain but the fragments of the base of the statue to him, found scattered over the Altis, have been restored with its epigram.¹⁰⁶ Between 388 and 376 P.C. Timon and his son Aegyptus won. Daedalus represented them as they had won, Timon with his chariot, and Aegyptus beside him on horseback.¹⁰⁷ Finally a base recovered at Olympia bearing an unknown work signed by Daedalus¹⁰⁸ ~~and another sculptor~~ complete his list of victor monuments there. It is noticeable that Pausanias always calls him a

101) R. von Schneider, Die Erzstatue von Helenenberge, in Jahrb. d. Samml. d. oesterr. Kaiserhauses, XV, 1893, illustrated by E. von Sacken, Die ant. Bronz. d. v. k. Münz. und Antiken-Cabinets in Wien, 1871, I, Pl. XXI - XXII, pp.52 ff., cf. Ath. Mitt., VI, 1881, p.155 (quoted from Hyde, op.cit., p.131, n.6). 102) Kast-erpieces, p.290. 103) Paus. VI, 3,4; Loewy, I.G.F., Nos. 88,89,103; Insch. von Ol. Nos.161,635. 104) Paus. VI, 3,7. cf. VIII, 45,4; Euseb. Chron. (ed. Schoene), I, p.204. 105) Paus. VI, 3,4. cf. Euseb. Chron. I, p.206. For the epigram on his statue in Hephaest. p.113 (ed. Gaisford) cf. Preuner, Jahrbuch, XXXV, 1920, pp.66-67. 106) Paus. VI, 6,1; Loewy, op.cit., No.103; Insch. von Ol. No.161. On the epigram and reading Tharycidas for Narycidas cf. Preuner, l.c. pp.67-68. The date of his victory is placed 368 P.C. by V. Hiller, Hera u. Andania, p.10; but in I.G., V, 2, p.106, n.115 ca. 380 P.C. 107) Paus. VI, 2,8. Hyde, op.cit., p.266, n.1. places the victory between 388 and 376 P.C. 108) Loewy, op.cit., No.89a; Insch. von Ol. 635.

Sicyonian and Daedalus uses this ethnikon except on the base of Tharycidas' statue where the ending $\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ occurs which does not permit the restoration $\Sigma\iota\kappa\omega\nu\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$. Nevertheless he must be the same Daedalus but bearing the ethnikon $\Phi\alpha\epsilon\iota\delta\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ as suggested by Loewy. His removal from Sicyon to Phlius for a time may have been occasioned by political circumstances in his native city.¹⁰⁹ That he was the artist who designed some of the finest coins for Olympia with the signature $\Delta\Lambda$ in the field has now been shown to be a fallacy for the dye is earlier than Daedalus' activity in Olympia.¹¹⁰

Some indication of his prominence can be gleaned from Pausanias' notices that he made votive groups at Olympia and Delphi. His earliest commission appears to have been the designing of the trophy erected by the Aleans in the center of the Altis at Olympia in honor of their victory over the Lacedaemonians under King Agis.¹¹¹ And at Delphi, when the Arcadians made a dedication of booty seized from the lacedaemonians, Daedalus carved the statues of Victory and Arcas.¹¹²

Few sculptors' names appear oftener in inscriptions. In addition to those mentioned, his signature has been found on bases in Delphi, Halicarnassus and Ephesus. From this source we know he fashioned the statue of the Pythian victor, Glaucon, son of Teureas at Delphi and cut its epigram.¹¹³ Whether the base found in Halicarnassus bearing in late letters the inscription $\Delta\alpha\epsilon\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota$ ¹¹⁴ is a copy of a statue by the Sicyonian or an original by a

109) Xen. Hell. VII, 1, 46. cf. Preuner, Jahrbuch, XXV, 1920, p.68. 110) Seltman, The Temple Coins of Olympia, pp.42 and 52, n.5. Daedalus was suggested by Gardner, Num. Chron., 1879, p.243. 111) Paus. V, 27, 11; VI, 2,8. The same battle is referred to by Paus. V, 20,4 and VI, 2,3 and must have occurred in 401-399 B.C. in the war described by Xen. Hell. III, 2, 21-31. 112) Paus. X, 9,5. Dated ca. 369 B.C. and is the last definite date known for Daedalus. cf. Pomtow, Ath. Mitt. XIV, 1889, pp.15 ff; Niese, Hermes, 34, 1899, pp.520 ff. 113) Homolle, F.C.H., 23, 1899, pp.381 ff. On the epigram cf. Preuner, l.c. pp.65-66; Pomtow, Ath. Mitt., 1918, p.63. Date 398/4 B.C. 114) Cousin and Diehl, F.C.H. XIV, 1890, p.107.

younger artistry by the same name is undecided. We know him also from his signature on a base found in Ephesus but afterwards lost, which had a metrical signature for the statue of one Euthenus.¹¹⁵ Finally, through misreading of the name Daedalsas for Daedalus in Pliny,¹¹⁶ an Aphrodite, of which there is a copy in Rome¹¹⁷ which represents the goddess at the bath, has long been erroneously assigned to Daedalus.

Pliny¹¹⁸ relates that he made two apoxyomenoi, bronze figures of youths using the strigil or body scraper, but does not say where they were. Such statues we know were made also by Polyclitus and Lysippus¹¹⁹ and such a theme exists in many statues, statuettes and reliefs. The best known are the marble copies in the Uffizi in Florence and the famous Apoxyomenus in the Vatican by Lysippus or his school. The pose and motive of the Uffizi which is generally considered Attic, is found also in a bronze statue from Ephesus, now in Vienna.¹²⁰ Its foot position, attitudes and general proportions, however, are those met with in the school of Polyclitus. Through a combination of the circumstances that Daedalus is credited with two apoxyomenoi, that an inscription of Daedalus was found at Ephesus and the statue in question recalls the style of his school Hauser¹²¹ has suggested that this bronze was the work of Daedalus.

Lamocritus of Sicyon is credited with one victor statue at Olympia, that of Hippias, an Elean, who won in the boys' boxing match.¹²² If he was fifth

115) Loewy, I.G.F., No.88; C.I.G.F., 2984. 116) N.H., 36,35. 117) Helbig, Führer, I³, p.161 No.248, Brunn-Fruehmann, op.cit., n.434; Amelung, Skulp. Vat. Mus. II, p.680 No.427. 118) N.H. 34, 76. 119) Ibid., 34, 55 and 62 respectively. 120) Penndorf, Ausgrabungen in Ephesus, I, pp.181-192; Frontispiece and plates VI - IX; Fulle, op.cit., No. 60; Springer-Michaelis, op.cit., n.297, fig.530; A.J.A. VI, 1902, pp.352-353, fig. 1 and 2; Fowler and Wheeler, Gr. Arch., p.268, fig.198. 121) Jh. Oest. arch. Inst., V, 1902, pp.214-216. 122) Paus. VI, 3,5; Hyde, op. cit., p.120 places his victory 396-352 B.C.

in school descent, from Critias his floruit would be 380 B.C.¹²³ The same artist is mentioned by Pliny¹²⁴ as a maker of statues of philosophers, and by Diogenes Laertius¹²⁵ as a sculptor, evidently on the authority of Antigonus. Finally there is attributed to him a work, the bronze base of which was found in the sixteenth century and copied by Spon in the Villa Mattei which bore at least six portrait statues after famous sculptors. Here the Ionic form Democritus appears on the base of the statue of an unknown woman, Lysis from Miletus.¹²⁶

Cleon, the pupil of Antiphanes, is the last of the Sicynian school of sculptors from the Polyclitan circle. The first work of his noted by Pausanias¹²⁷ is a bronze Aphrodite in the Heraeum at Olympia which he mentions immediately after the Hermes of Praxiteles and is therefore conjectured to have stood next to it. The gilded child by Foethus, naked and seated before the image had no connection with the Aphrodite.¹²⁸

Cleon has an interesting connection with the six Zanes put up in Olympia between the Heraeum and the Stadium out of the fines imposed on athletes who wantonly violated the rules of the games in 368 B.C. Out of six put up out of such penalties imposed on Eupolus, a Thessalian, and the boxers whom he bribed, Cleon made two. The inscription from the base of one of these Zanes has been found. From marks on top of the block it appears that the image was about life size and, like the Canon of Polyclitus, rested its weight on the right foot while the left foot was drawn back and only touched the ground with the toes. The attitude seems to have been characteristic of all the Zanes and illustrates exactly the motive of the Doryphorus.¹²⁹

123) So Brunn, *Gesch. d. gr. Künstler*, I, p.106; Robert in *Arch. Märchen*, p.14 and Pauly-Wissowa, IV, p.2070 doubts Pausanias' statement. 124) N.H., 34, 87. 125) IX, 49. 126) Loewy, *op.cit.*, No.484. 127) V, 17, 4. 128) Wernicke, *Olympische Beiträge II, Jahrbuch*, IX, 1894, p.108; on Foethos cf. Robert, Pauly-Wissowa, III, p.605. 129) Paus. V, 21, 3; Loewy, *op.cit.*, No.95; *Insch. von Ol.* No.637; cf. Furtwängler, *op.cit.*, p.249.

Four statues by him of boy victors and one of a pentathlete stood at Olympia. The latter was Hysmon, an Elean, who won both at Olympia and Delphi. ^{NEMEA.} The boy victors were the runner Dinolochus, also from Elis, Critodamus and Alcetus, both boxers from Clitor in Arcadia, and the Heraean runner Lycinus.¹³⁰

A recently discovered inscription shows that after the death of King Agesipolis of Sparta 381/380 B.C., his father, the exiled King Pausanias, erected a monument to him in Delphi. The black limestone base of the memorial bears a dedicatory inscription renewed about 150 B.C. and the signature of the maker, Cleon.¹³¹ A base found ^{NEMEA} north of the Heraeum at Olympia bearing an unknown work may be signed by Cleon.¹³² The father's name and the artist's signature with the ethnicon in the old form $\Sigma\epsilon\kappa\omega\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, not found in other signatures by this sculptor, make the identification doubtful. Of his statues of philosophers mentioned by Pliny¹³³ we know nothing.

Furtwängler¹³⁴ thinks that a bronze statuette of a youthful athlete now in the Louvre¹³⁵ and belonging to a more extended circle of the Polyclitan school may probably be attributed to Cleon. To the so-called Dresden Boy it corresponds in the attitude of the feet, the turn of the head and the gaze of the eyes down towards the outstretched left hand but unlike it here the right arm is raised, and, he thinks, held a fillet in the right hand which was gliding over the open palm of the left. However, in the absence of any definite statement regarding the style of any of the pupils of Polyclitus, whose own

130) Hysmon: Paus. VI, 3,9; Dinolochus; *ibid.*, VI, 1,4 and 5; Critodamus: *ibid.*, VI, 8,5; Loewy, *op.cit.*, No. 96; *Insch. von Ol.* No.167; Alcetus: Paus. VI, 9,2; Lycinus: *ibid.*, VI, 10,9. The dates of their victories given by Hyde, *op.cit.*, p.121 are 404-368 B.C. 131) Fourguet, B.C.H., XXXV, 1911, pp.162-165. 132) Loewy, *op.cit.*, No.89 b; *Insch. von Ol.*, No.636. 133) N.H. 34, 87. of. Winter, *Jahrbuch*, V, 1890, p.159. 134) *Masterpieces*, p.278. 135) Fröhner, *Coll. Gréau, Bronzes Ant.*, 1885, Pl. XXXII, p.204, No.964; Mahler, *op.cit.*, pp.58 ff. and fig. 13; Reinach, *Rep.*, II, 546, 3.

persistent influence is traceable in countless examples of later works, any attribution of extant works to his successors becomes one of great conjecture.

The received information about the contemporary school of painting is far more extensive and detailed and gives the impression that its great masters far surpassed the attainments of the school of sculpture. It is at the end of the fifth century that we hear of a transformation in the character of Greek painting through a better knowledge of color and chiarascuro which prepared the way for a representation of the figure by light and shade while the study of perspective made possible a more natural treatment of landscape background. Thus the painter attained to a much closer imitation of natural effects. In this the sculptor was anticipated by the new development led to greater attainments by the sculptors of the succeeding period.

While previous sculptors even in the fifth century endeavored to imitate the actual forms in nature or such an idealized rendering of them as should embody exactly the artists' conception, the new tendency was to turn away from the reproduction of figures actually true to nature and to study rather the impression produced by the form on the eye of the spectator. To this semblance of being true to nature and to the proper spatial arrangement of plane surfaces were directed the studies in symmetry by the late fifth and early fourth century artists. We hear of the efforts of Euphranor, author of a study on symmetry, and who was both painter and sculptor but who failed in so far that his figures were criticised for being too slender in body in proportion to head, feet, and arms.¹³⁶ The same influence resulted in lighter proportions in the statues of Scopas and Praxiteles. But the culmination of the principle implied in the words "representing men as they appeared to be

136) Pliny, N.H., 35, 128; cf. Six, Jahrbuch, XXIV, 1909, pp.7 ff.

rather than as they really are" was not fully reached until the day of Lysippus.

We may admit or deny, as we please, the truth of the anecdotes about Lysippus' earlier years and his venture on his profession at the words of the painter Eupompus¹³⁷ but the judgment of his nearly contemporary critics has a claim to our credence. Such an estimate we have in Pliny:¹³⁸ "His chief contributions to the art of sculpture are said to consist in his vivid rendering of the hair, in making the heads smaller than older artists had done, and the bodies slimmer and with less flesh, thus increasing the apparent height of his figures. There is no word in Latin for the canon of symmetry [$\sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}$] which he was so careful to preserve, bringing innovations which had never been thought of before into the square canon of the older artists, and he often said that the difference between himself and them was that they represented men as they were, and he as they appeared to be. His chief characteristic is extreme delicacy of execution even in the smallest details." In brief, the knowledge and skill attained by the continued theoretical studies of the Argive and Sicyonian schools reached its culmination under the leadership of Lysippus and through him and his school were handed down to later times. He was, moreover, a versatile and prolific genius who executed a variety of subjects including the gods, heroes, and men, horses, lions and dogs varying in size from colossi to the tiny bronze and from single statues to great battle groups and hunting scenes. Still from it all few works are indisputably attributed to him but to him are traceable many of the types found in later Greek art.

The artistic development expected from the greatest sculptor of the fourth century has long been recognized in a work attributed to him in antiquity

137) Pliny, N.H., 34, 61. 138) l.c. 65. tr. Sellers.

in a marble copy of an apoxyomenus in the Vatican.¹³⁹ Its Lysippian character, however, has lately been seriously attacked by the discovery of the marble statue of Agias at Delphi, which is purported to be a contemporary copy of an original bronze by Lysippus set up at Pharsalus in Thessaly¹⁴⁰ and which several archaeologists now, on the ground of epigraphical evidence, substitute for the Apoxyomenus as the true criterion of Lysippus' style and relegate the latter to the school of Lysippus. The differences in physical type and artistic execution are so great, according to some scholars, that one or the other must be dissociated from Lysippus. It seems, however, from a thorough consideration of the evidence in regard to Lysippus' life and the style of the Apoxyomenus and certified Lysippian works that the traditional view of many scholars may still be correct in considering the Apoxyomenus the norm of Lysippus' style.¹⁴¹

Of his statues of Zeus at Sicyon, Megara, Argos and the colossal one at Tarentum¹⁴² we have no certain reproductions but it is probable that the stern-browed type of Zeus with wavy hair, shaggy beard and a naturalistic treatment such as we see in the mask found at Otricoli¹⁴³ owes its origin to Lysippus. Many see in the colossal statue in the Lateran¹⁴⁴ a replica of the statue of Poseidon made to be set up at the Isthmian sanctuary. A famous statue by Lysippus was that of Helios, at Rhodes, driving his four horse chariot. But this

139) Amelung, *Skulpt. d. Vat. Mus.*, I, pp.86 ff.; Helbig, *Führer*³, I, No.23; Brunn-Fruekmann, No.281 and 487; Rulle, *Der schöne Mensch*², pls. 62 and 213 and in text pp.117, 118, fig. 22; von Mach, *op.cit.*, No.235. 140) See esp. Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, pp.421 ff.; E. Preuner, *Ein Delphisches Weihgeschenk*; P. Gardner, *J.H.S.* XXV, 1905, pp.234 ff.; Hyde, *Ol. Victor Monuments*, pp.286 ff.; F. P. Johnson, *Lysippus*, *Diss. J.H.U.*, 1921, Chap. IV. 141) cf. Johnson, *op.cit.* Chapters II and IV. 142) Overbeck *S.Q.*, Nos.1451-1460. 143) Helbig, *Führer*³, I, pp.188 ff., No.288 with bibliography. 144) Helbig, *Führer*³, II, pp.25 ff., No.1188 with bibliography; Brunn-Fruekmann, No.243; Rulle, *op.cit.*, pl.73; von Mach, No.239.

and his Dionysus are not preserved in any copies that can be ascribed to him. The supposed Mnemosyne in the group of Zeus with the Muses at Megara¹⁴⁵ has often been assumed to be reflected in the type of feminine figure now in Dresden of which the "Grande Herculanaise" is the best of a long series in which we can probably get an idea of Lysippus' draped feminine figures.¹⁴⁶ The allegorical figure of Kairos represented as an agile youth with long hair in front and bald in back, standing on tiptoe and with winged ankles was a conception of Lysippus. That it was highly famed in antiquity we learn from vivid descriptions and epigrams¹⁴⁷ but its reproduction has come down to us only in a much modified form.¹⁴⁸

Among the heroes Heracles was his favorite subject.¹⁴⁹ A small bronze, the Heracles Epitrapezius, said to have been made to adorn Alexander's table and to have passed on in ownership through Hannibal and Sulla to Vindex in Rome, represented the hero seated on a rock over which was thrown the lion skin. He sat gazing upward holding his club in one hand and a wine cup in the other. Eleven existing replicas attest to the popularity of the type.¹⁵⁰ But the most famous representation of Heracles was the colossal statue at Tarentum which was later carried off to Rome and from there transferred to Constantinople. Descriptions tell us the hero was sitting weary, without weapons, on a basket on which lay the familiar lion skin. The right arm and leg were extended, and his left leg drawn back and bent at the knee supported his elbow.¹⁵¹

145) Paus. I, 43,6. 146) Reinach, Rev. Arch., 37, 1900, pp.380-403; cf. Miss Van Deman, A.J.A., XII, 1908, pp.331 ff. Johnson, op.cit., pp.94-104 gives a complete list of replicas. 147) See Overbeck, S.Q. Nos.1463-1467.

148) Faumeister, Dankmäler, II, pp.771 ff., figs. 823 ff.; cf. Klein, Gesch. d. gr. Kunst, II, p.362. 149) For the passages referring to his statues of Heracles see, Overbeck, S.Q. 1468-1478. 150) Weizsäcker, Jahrbuch IV, 1889, pp. 105-112; Picard, R.A. 17, 1911, pp.257-270. Johnson, Lysippus, pp.44 ff. 151) Variouslly described in the passages in S.Q. 1468-1473.

That conception of Heracles as a hero bent in sorrows and humiliation we meet in such later representations as the Heracles Farnese in Naples¹⁵² where the gigantic figure of Heracles stands resting wearily on his club.

Lysippus' ability to express character is shown by the tradition that he was in a way official sculptor to Alexander for whom he executed a whole series of works. It is said that he and he alone succeeded in rendering the poise of his neck and to lose none of the manly and leonine aspect of the conqueror seen in the melting glance of his eyes.¹⁵³ There are many extant statues and heads that fit the description given by ancient authors but there is by no means unanimity among scholars in regarding any of them as derived from Lysippus.¹⁵⁴ The Azara head in the Louvre¹⁵⁵ has been most widely accepted as a copy from Lysippus because of its close resemblance to the head of the Apoxyomenus. To those¹⁵⁶ who have most closely compared them a small bronze in the Louvre¹⁵⁷ so closely resembles the herm that both are thought to have been copied from the same original. Finally, a helmeted marble figure of a youth also in the Louvre¹⁵⁸ with its slightly twisted neck and intense upward gaze shows more than any other Lysippian style in posture and details and is considered to be the best copy of the "Alexander with the Lance."

152) Brunn-Frueckmann, No.285; Fulle, op.cit., No.72; Reinach, Répertoire, I, 465, 1-3. 153) Plut., Alex. 4,1. All the references to his representations of Alexander are found in Overbeck, S.Q., No.1478-1491. 154) On the representations of Alex. of Köpp, Über das Bildnis Alexanders des Grossen; Bernoulli, Die erhaltenen Darstellungen des Alexanders; Hekler, Die Bildniskunst des Griechen und Römer; Collignon, Lysippe, pp.37-63; Mme. Naviglia, L'Attività Artistica di Lisippo pp.54-66. Johnson, Lysippus, Chap. VIII brings together all the evidence. 155) Collignon, Lysippe, fig.9; Köpp, op.cit., pp.8-9 and Pl. I.; Bernoulli, op.cit., Pl. I, fig. 1; Hekler, op.cit., fig. 62 b; von Mach, op.cit., No.398. 156) Winter, Arch. Anz., X, 1895, p.162; Schreiber, Studien über das Bildnis Alexanders des Grossen, p.163. 157) Collignon, Lysippe, fig.10. 158) Schreiber, op.cit., p.111 ff. and 287, Pl. VII; Reinach, Répertoire, I, 133, 8.

Of the great battle group of equestrian statues made for Alexander after the battle of the Granicus there is no replica unless we accept the bronze statuette of an armed horseman in Naples as a copy of the figure of Alexander.¹⁵⁹ The character of the so-called Craterus group at Delphi representing Alexander on the hunt is faintly gathered from a relief found at Messene.¹⁶⁰

Five athlete statues are accredited to him at Olympia, those of Troilus, an Elean equestrian victor, of the pancratiast Polydamas of Scotussa, of the wrestler Chilon from Patrae, of the hoplite-runner Calliocrates from Magnesia, and of the pancratiast Philandridas from Stratus. Moreover he made two honor statues for Pythes of Abdera.¹⁶¹

Finally, the Eros stringing the bow, the Ares Ludovisi, the "Jason", the fine bronze Hermes in Naples, the Medici Aphrodite, the Silemus with the infant Dionysus, the Naples wrestlers from Herculaneum, portrait busts of Socrates and Seleucus Nicator do not lack champions who claim them as copies of his works, or as reproductions or modifications of types which Lysippus originated.

The innovations in proportion, the ability to express emotion, and the skill in giving a variety of postures to his subjects made Lysippus the influence in his own school and the whole Hellenic world. The various and widely separated places in which he worked and his close association with Alexander helped spread the new artistic tendencies outside of Greece in many new centres

159) Prunn-Fruckmann, No.355 b; Collignon, Lysippe, fig.11; cf. Pottier, *Melanges* Nicole, pp.427-443. 160) Loeschke, *Jahrbuch*, III, 1888, pp.189-193 and Pl. VII; Collignon, Lysippe, fig.12; Kluge, *Die Darstellungen der Löwenjagd*, p.46, no.179. 161) Troilus: Paus. VI, 1,4; Insch. von Ol. 166; Polydamas: Paus. VI, 5, 1-7; Chilon: Paus. VI, 4, 6-7; cf. *ibid.*, VII, 6,5; Calliocrates: Paus. VI, 17,3; Philandridas: Paus. VI, 2,1; Pythes: Paus. VI, 14,12. Hyde, *Ol. Victor Monuments* p.121 dates the victories 372-320 B.C. On marble head from Olympia identified as that of Philandridas cf. Hyde, *op.cit.*, pp.293 ff.

established under the political conditions of Hellenistic times. For two generations following Lysippus we find a number of his Sicyonian pupils still active.

Lysistratus,¹⁶² the brother of Lysippus, is said to have been the first Greek sculptor to have introduced the practice of taking a plaster cast from the face of his subjects.¹⁶³ In this as a mould he would then insert a coat of wax on which he made final corrections before casting the bronze.¹⁶⁴ The process undoubtedly added a touch of realism to portrait sculpture which was the favorite theme of their contemporary Silanion. Only a single work by Lysistratus is mentioned, the statue of a certain Melanippe.¹⁶⁵

Lysippus had three sons who were his pupils and became celebrated as artists, Foedas, Daippus and Euthykrates.¹⁶⁶ The only subject Pliny¹⁶⁷ mentions by Foedas is a praying boy. The Praying Boy now in the Berlin Museum,¹⁶⁸ one of the finest Greek bronzes, is often identified with this. It has been shown to belong to the school of Lysippus¹⁶⁹ by its marked affinity to the Apoxyomenus and the resting figure of Hermes in Naples and is sometimes assigned to Foedas.¹⁷⁰

By Daippus Pausanias¹⁷¹ mentions two athlete statues at Olympia, one

162) Pliny, N.H. 35, 153; on the displacement of the passage cf. Münzer, Hermes, XXX, 1895, p.510. 163) A recent discovery at Tell-el-Amarna shows that the Egyptians already in the fourteenth century B.C. took plaster casts from the human face. cf. Freasted, Art and Archaeology, IV, 1916, pp.237-239. 164) The process is described by Gardner, Handbook of Gr. Sculpture², p.25. 165) Tatian, contra Gr. 54, p.117 (ed Worth) = S.C. No.1515. 166) Pliny, N.H., 34, 66. 167) Ibid., 34, 73. 168) Fourn-Fruckmann, No.283; Pulle, Der schöne Mensch², No.64; Reinach, Répertoire, I, 459, 4; von Mach, Pl.273; Richardson, Gr. Sculp., p.236 fig.112. 169) Loewy, Röm. Mitt., XVI, 1901, pp.391 ff. and Pl. XVI-XVII. 170) Pulle, op.cit., p.122 assigns it possibly to Foedas; so also, Gardner, Handbook of Gr. Sculp.², p.452. Dickinson, Hellenistic Sculpture, p.37, regards it as a copy of Foedas' statue. 171) VI, 12, 6 and VI, 16, 5 respectively. Hyde, Ol. Victor Monuments, p.121, dates their victories 320-280 B.C.

of the boy boxer Callon, and the other for the runner Nicander, both Eleans.

Pliny¹⁷² attributes to him a perixyomenus which, in the Agias - Apoxyomenus controversy, has been suggested as the original of the latter.¹⁷³

Contemporary with the sons of Lysippus lived Laitondas who made the statue of the Elean Theotimus, a victor in the boys' boxing match.¹⁷⁴ His signature has been found on a base from near Delphi which evidently bore a statue of Aphrodite.¹⁷⁵ A pedestal signed by a Daitondas, dating from the early part of the third century B.C. was found at Thebes.¹⁷⁶ On it once stood a statue dedicated by one Polemocles to Licmondas, his father.

The most important of Lysippus' sons, Euthykrates,¹⁷⁷ is said to have deviated from his father more than the other sons making his statues rather severe than refined. Most of his themes are athletic, a few are feminine. Like his father, he made an Alexander hunting at Thespieae, a Heracles at Delphi, and probably imitated him in his group of the Thespiades and a combat between horsemen. His statue of Trophonius at Lebadeia in Boeotia whose cult Pausanias¹⁷⁸ describes, probably stood in the cave itself and not in the temple which contained a statue by Daedalus and another by Praxiteles.¹⁷⁹ The statue of the horse carrying hunting prongs was probably designed with two-pronged spears such as are used by Meleager and Mopsus on a cylix in Munich.¹⁸⁰ Whether he ever made the statues of the poetesses mentioned by Tatian,¹⁸¹ Anyte of Tegea, Mnesarchis of Ephesus, and Thaliarchis of Argos is regarded as doubtful because

172) N.H. XXXIV, 87. 173) P. Gardner, J.H.S., XXIII, 1903, p.131; *ibid.* J.H.S. XXV, 1906, p.258. cf. Johnson, Lysippus, pp.38-39-and 72. 174) Paus. VI, 17,5. 175) Schmidt, Ath. Mitt. V, 1880, p.197, No.58; Loewy, I.G.R., No.97. 176) I.G. VII, 2472. Robert in Fauly-Wissowa, IV, p.2015 confuses this with the above inscription from Delphi. 177) Pliny, N.H. 34, 51 and 66. 178) IX, 39, 2 ff. 179) Paus. IX, 34, 8 and 59, 4 respectively. 180) Klein, Meistersignaturen p.77; Reinach, Rép. d. Vases, II, p.119. 181) Contra Gr. 52 pp.114 ff. (ed Worth) = S.Q. 1523, 1524.

these would be of a nature that does not fit with Pliny's description of his style.

The Sicyonian Eutychides is the best known of all the pupils of Lysippos for his Fortune of Antioch. According to Pliny¹⁸² a marble statue of Dionysus by him found its way to the famous gallery of Asinius Pollio in Rome. For Olympia he made the statue of the boy runner Timosthenes of Elis.¹⁸³ He was also a painter and executed a figure of Victory driving a chariot.¹⁸⁴ His emblematic figure of the Eurotas is said to have appeared more flowing than the waters of the river itself.¹⁸⁵ But his best effort at such impersonation, known through the preservation of both marble and bronze copies is the Tyche of Antioch.¹⁸⁶ When this flourishing young city, founded by Seleucus I, the general of Alexander in 302 B.C., looked about for a sculptor to execute a statue for the city, it picked Eutychides, the most consummate artist of the time. He not only made a statue highly esteemed by the natives, but also designed it in such a way as to create an epoch in art. The fashion set by Antioch became popular at the beginning of the Roman age not only in Syria but as far away as the Partho-Greek empire on the Tigris.¹⁸⁷ The best example of such a Tyche and quite certainly a copy of the bronze by Eutychides is the well-known marble statue in the Vatican¹⁸⁸ and a bronze in the Louvre.¹⁸⁹ Here is a new feature in art - a Tyche that represents an individual city. The

182) N.H. 36, 34. Here, since the figure is of marble and his other statues are of bronze we ought rather to assign it to one of the many other marble workers by this name. cf. Loewy, I.G.F. Nos. 143, 244-249; Homolle, F.C.H. XVIII, 1894, pp. 336 ff.; Foussell, F.C.H. XXXII, 1908, p. 409; Schede, Ath. Mitt. XXXIV, 1919, p. 24. 183) Paus. VI, 2, 7. 184) Pliny, N.H. 35, 141. 185) Ibid., 34, 78; Philippus, Anth. Pal. IX, 709. For its imitation on coins of Sparta cf. Lippold, Röm. Mitt. 33, 1918, p. 69. 186) Paus. VI, 2, 6; cf. Joh. Malalas, Chronogr. XI, p. 276. 187) See the excellent study by P. Gardner, J.H.S. IX, 1888, p. 75 ff. and Förster, Jahrbuch, XII, 1897, pp. 145-149. 188) Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 154; Helbig, Führer, I³, 362, von Mach, No. 256; Gardner, Handbook of Gr. Sculpt., fig. 128; Reinach, Répertoire, I, p. 450. 189) De Ridder, Bronzes du Louvre 1081; Brunn-Bruckmann, op.cit., 610 fig. 7. For other copies see on n. 187 and Lippold. Röm. Mitt. 33, 1918, pp. 67-73.

goddess, high on a rock, with a river god appearing at her feet, a mural crown on her head, and ears of corn in her right hand suggest the beautiful geographical position of Antioch nestling, well-fortified on the fertile banks of the Orontes. The wonderful grace and dignified pose of the figure with its varied flow of drapery makes this statue one of the most charming figures to the eye of any that have survived from this period.

Several Hellenistic works have been attributed to Eutyichides. So Graef¹⁹⁰ suggests him as author of the portrait head of an old man in the Vatican which he identifies as that of Antiochus Soter.¹⁹¹ The Victory of Samothrace in the Louvre, which according to the current view, is dated shortly after the victory of Demetrius Poliorcetes over Ptolemy at Cyprus in 306 B.C.¹⁹² has often been brought into connection with Eutyichides. Finally, Studniczka¹⁹³ would recognize his hand as sculptor and painter in the wonderful work on the so-called Alexander sarcophagus from Sidon now in Constantinople.

One pupil is recorded as having been taught by Eutyichides, Cantharus, son of Alexis of Sicyon.¹⁹⁴ Two statues of athletes by him stood at Olympia, that of Cratinus of Aegira, and probably that of his trainer, and the statue of Alexinicus, an Elean, both victors in wrestling.¹⁹⁵ An inscription from the base of a statue by him has been found in the stair case of a church at Hagii Theodori, a suburb of Thebes. The statue was evidently for Thoinias, a youth, and was erected by his parents.¹⁹⁶

The last two sculptors known to us from the Sicyonian school, Tisi-

190) Jahrbuch, XVII, 1902, p.80. 191) cf. Helbig. Führer, I³, No.216.

192) If Dickins, Hellenistic Sculp. pp.46-47 is right the statue dates 250 B.C.

193) Jahrbuch, IX, 1894, p.211. On the identity of the person the sarcophagus was intended for cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Sarkophage, p.2536. 194) Paus. VI, 3,6; cf. Pliny, N.H., 34, 85. His date is first half of fourth century.

195) Cratinus: Paus. VI, 3,6; Alexinicus: Paus., VI, 17,7. 196) cf. I.G., VII, 2471 (not in Loewy).

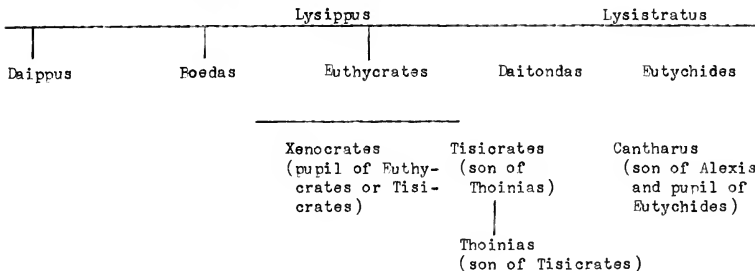
crates and his son Thoinias, seem to have found their best clients at Thebes, Tanagra and Oropus. Ancient literature tells us little of Tisicrates except that as a pupil of Euthyocrates he followed more closely the style of Lysippus as distinguished from his teacher, and that he made portraits of Peucestes, the comrade of Alexander, of King Demetrius, of an aged Theban, and a statue of a two-horse chariot.¹⁹⁷ Through archaeology we learn more of him. From a base found in 1874 in Thebes¹⁹⁸ with his signature and an epigram we know he made the victor statue of the pancratiast Evancritus¹⁹⁹ who had won victories at the Isthmian and Nemean games. An inscription from a base at Oropus²⁰⁰ gives no clue as to the nature of the statue it bore but we learn nevertheless that the name of his father was Thoinias and not Euthyocrates as formerly supposed. In 1903 the French discovered a marble base at the Ptoion sanctuary in Foetia with an epigram signed by Tisicrates of Sicyon which Fizard²⁰¹ interprets as having been a group of Heracles and the Erymanthian boar. The base found in Rome,²⁰² and another at Lake Albano²⁰³ bearing the name of Tisicrates but neither of which are original inscriptions have been the subject of much conjecture. Whether they ever bore a genuine work by Tisicrates, or a copy of such, or a supposed statue by him cannot here, as in most such cases, be decided. To the immediate circle of Tisicrates belonged the sculptor Xenocrates of Sicyon²⁰⁴ who wrote treatises on sculpture and painting which were so freely drawn on by later compilers, and Tisicrates' son and pupil, Thoinias, who closes the long roll of Sicyonian sculptors. Of Thoinias we have no mention in litera-

197) Pliny, N.H. 34, 67 and 89. The career of Tisicrates is placed by Brunn, Gesch, d. gr. Künstl., I, p.410 from 320-284 B.C. cf. Earle, Cl. Rev., VI, 1892, pp.133 ff.
198) Loewy, I.G.P., No.120; I.G., VII, 2470. 199) Cf. Preuner, Jahrbuch, XXXV, 1920, pp.72 ff. 200) Loewy, op.cit., 120a and appendix p.385; I.G., VII, 267.
201) F.C.H., XLIV, 1920, p.242. 202) Loewy, op.cit., No.493; C.I.L., VI, 2, 10043. 203) Loewy, op.cit., No.478; C.I.G., III, 6172. 204) See p.89 and n.3.

ture and other sources give us no evidence about the style of his work. We learn, however, that, like his father, he was active outside the Peloponnesus. We cannot judge by the base found at Tanagra²⁰⁵ what statue stood on it. Decrees inscribed on the block are clearly from a period later than Thoinias. The base from Oropus²⁰⁶ likewise bears inscriptions none of which concern the sculptor. A second inscription from Oropus,²⁰⁷ however, informs us it was a statue of Heraclitus dedicated by Diogenes, his brother, to Amphiaraus. The Heraclitus here named was the poet and friend of Callimachus.²⁰⁸ The work in Delos²⁰⁹ is unknown except for his signature. Loewy suggests that it was a dedication by the artist himself. In Sicyon, his native city, two inscriptions have been found that throw more light on him. The one²¹⁰ was on a base on which we can conclude there stood the statue of the athlete Callistratus. The other inscription restored, reads "The Sicyonians dedicated the statue of King Philip, son of King Demetrius."²¹¹ The Philip named is clearly Philip V who ruled 220-178 B.C.²¹² From this and the signature of Thoinias we can conclude that he was commissioned by his fellow-townsmen to execute this honorary statue erected by the Sicyonians to gain the good will of the Macedonian. Finally, a statue found at Sicyon during the excavation of the orchestra of the theatre in 1887 described as a "statue of a youthful Dionysus, of good workmanship, a product of Sicyonian art, dated on stylistic grounds in the third century" has been assigned to one of the more distant followers of Lysippus, probably Thoinias.²¹³

205) Loewy, I.G.B., No. 121; I.G. VII, 521. 206) Loewy, op.cit., No.122 a; I.G., VII, 384. 207) I.G., VII, 431 (not in Loewy). 208) Diog. Laert., IX, 17; Anth. Pal., VII, 80; Strabo, XIV, 656. cf. Susemihl, Gesch. d. gr. Litt. d. Alexanderzeit, II, p.534, 79. 209) Loewy, op.cit., No.122 and appendix, p.385. 210) Earle, A.J.A., V, 1889, No.2, pp.283-284; I.G., IV, 428. 211) Earle, Cl. Rev. VI, 1892, p.133; I.G., IV, 427. 212) Feloch, Gr. Gesch., III, 2, p.96. 213) Earle, A.J.A., V, 1889, pp.292-303 and Pl. VIII.

The list of native Sicyonian sculptors before Lysippus is as follows: Aristocles, Canachus, Polyolitus, Alypus, Olympus, Democritus, Patroclus, Daedalus, Canachus the Younger and Cleon. After Lysippus and his brother we can draw up the following artistic genealogy:



In addition to these there are two who are possibly of this school. An inscription on a statue base by a certain Canachus who can be neither the older nor the younger sculptor of that name has been found in Poetia.²¹⁴ Judging by the fact that Sicyonian sculptors were active there and from the custom of perpetuating the name in a family, he is thought to be a Sicyonian. Also the Pythocles whom Pausanias²¹⁵ mentions as having dedicated a temple and statue of Apollo in Sicyon, and who is probably to be identified with the sculptor by that name mentioned by Pliny²¹⁶ as one of those flourishing after Ol. 156, may be a Sicyonian. Finally, inscriptions from two bases found at Delphi²¹⁷ bearing the Sicyonian ethnicon, show that the statues on them were the work of Sicyonian sculptors whose names remain unknown to us.

214) Loewy, op.cit., No.153.

215) II, 7,9.

216) 34, 51.

217) Homolle, F.C.H., 23, 1899, pp.382,383.

CHAPTER VIII.

Sicyonian Fainters.

Besides having a recognized school of sculpture, Sicyon was the seat of a prominent school of painting, the renown of which, according to the traditional history of art, was surpassed by no other in antiquity. Here, indeed, in the estimation of ancient writers painting had its origin. Here the theory of the art was most scientifically taught and here even the great Apelles came to enhance his reputation. Its paintings in the Painted Porch were the subject of a whole treatise by the geographer, Polemo,¹ and the Ptolemies in Egypt were long the best patrons of her masters.²

Regarding the commencement and earliest development of painting in Greece the ancients had various opinions. Pliny, our main source, acknowledging uncertainty on the subject, says in one passage:³ "The claim of the Egyptians to have discovered the art six thousand years before it reached Greece is obviously an idle boast, while among the Greeks some say that it was first discovered at Sicyon, others at Corinth. All, however, agree that painting began with the outlining of a man's shadow; this was the first state, in the second a single color was employed, and after the discovery of more elaborate methods this style, which is still in vogue, received the name of monochrome. The invention of linear drawing is attributed to Philocles of Egypt, or to Cleantes of Corinth. The first to practise it were Aridices of Corinth, and Telephanes of Sicyon, who still used no color, though they had begun to give the inner markings, and from this went on to add the names of the personages they painted. The invention of painting with color made, it is said, from

1) Fr. 14, 15 (Müller, F.H.G., III, p.120). 12) Plut., Aratus, 12, 13; Athen., V, 196 e. 3) N.H., 35, 15, 16 (tr. Jex-Blake and Sellers).

powdered potsherds, is due to Ecphantus of Corinth." In another passage he says further, that painting was a discovery of the Egyptians, but was in Greece invented by Eucheir, kinsman of Daedalus, as Aristotle also said, while Theophrastus ascribes it to Polygnotus of Athens.⁴ Athenagoras⁵ relates that in the days before sculpture and painting there were Saurias, the Samian, Craton, the Sicyonian, and Cleanthes of Corinth, and a Corinthian maiden. Shadow pictures (σκιὰ γράφειν), he continues, were invented by Saurias by tracing the outline of his horse in the sun, painting (γράφειν) by Craton, who painted on a whitened tablet the shadows of a man and woman (ἐν πύλακι λελευκωμένῳ). He speaks of the Corinthian maiden as the originator of the art of modelling, and Pliny,⁶ referring to the same legend, relates that the maiden, the daughter of a certain Eutades, a Sicyonian potter, struck by the shadow of her lover's face cast by her lamp upon the wall, drew its outline with such force and correctness that her father cut away the plaster within the outline and took an impression from the wall in clay, which he baked with the rest of his pottery. With the portrait-making of Eutades there hangs the story of the invention of the masks as tile-fronts on the eaves of buildings.⁷

In an attempt to reconcile these statements we can certainly eliminate Philocles as an Egyptian for his name is Greek.⁸ The best conjecture is that the author of the statement had either seen a work in Greece by Philocles who was probably an inhabitant of the Greek colony of Naucratis, or that a work painted by him in Greece had been exported to Egypt and was there seen and so caused the mistake of identifying the painter as an Egyptian. The attribution

4) N.H., 7, 205. 5) Leg. pro. Christ. 14 (p.59 ed. Dechair) = S.Q. 381, 261.
6) N.H., 35, 151. 7) cf. Robert in Pauly-Wissowa, III, p.1079. 8) See especially the discriminating article by Klein, "Die Sikyonische Schule" in Arch.-Epig. Mitt. aus Oester.-Ungarn, XI, 1887, pp.193-233. Wustmann, "Die Sikyonische Malerschule" in Rhein. Mus. XXIII, 1868, pp.454-479 is a rather esthetic study of it as compared to the Attic school.

to Polygnotus can only be meant to apply to monumental painting. The remaining names all point to Sicyon and Corinth and in a manner calculated to compromise the priority of both cities. In artistic history the two towns may be considered together. They lay close together; their alphabets were closely related; their population was mainly Dorian; the splendor of the courts of powerful tyrants in the two cities, and their flourishing commerce attracted and gave scope for the activity of many artists.⁹ The extensive spread of this Corinthian-Sicyonian art may well be the source for Pliny's legendary account¹⁰ of the wanderings of Eucheir, Diopus, Euphrastus and Euphrastus.

Ofcourse no one would contend that we should accept literally Pliny's statements as to the order of inventions, whereby linear drawing would precede painting for that is clearly contrary to the operation revealed by the monuments. Nor would anyone insist that the actual origin of painting in Greece took place at Corinth and Sicyon, for Greek tradition itself admits and finds give out that such was not the case. About all that can safely be said of Pliny's statement regarding the Greek genesis of painting in Sicyon is that it points to it as an early center of this art which culminates, about the seventh century, in the remarkably fine painting on the pottery, the so-called Proto-Corinthian ware whose home is often attributed to Sicyon but whose distribution in northern Greece, the Islands, Italy, Sicily and Egypt may be due to Corinth, the more favorable exporting center.¹¹

Still the painters may not be all legendary for we have definite evidence in the case of Cleantes of whom it is related by Athenaeus¹² that he made a 'picture of Poseidon offering a tunny-fish to Zeus in travail' for by a comparison with vase paintings and a passage in Strabo¹³ we know that the

9) cf. pp.31 ff.
13) VIII, p.343.

10) N.H. 35, 152 and 35,16.

11) of. p.32.

12) VIII, 346c.

subject of the painting was the favorite one of the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus.¹⁴ On more than one vase with this subject Poseidon is one of the deities present at the event, holding the tunny, however, merely as an attribute, and not in the manner understood by later writers. Of greater importance for the evidence of early Greek painting and invaluable in supplementing the scanty literary record is the series of painted votive tablets found in 1879 at Penteskuphia, on the slope of Acrocorinthus, the site of a shrine to Poseidon, the patron deity of the city.¹⁵ Here we have actual pictures with figures painted in black and purple on a creamy white slip with which the tablets are covered, and we may well suppose that such were the whitened tablets on which painted such men as Craton of Sicyon.

During the period of the great development of painting particularly at Athens in the reconstruction and adornment of the city after the Persian War there is a gap in our evidence for Sicyon but scholars may be right in supposing that in a city which both previously and subsequently ranked as one of the most active that there the art was carried on uninterruptedly. A new period is ushered in with Timanthes¹⁶ who successfully competed with Parrhasius at Samos in a pictorial competition of which the subject of Parrhasius was the contest between Ajax and Ulysses for the arms of Achilles.¹⁷ Of the other works

14) Studniczka, Jahrbuch II, 1887, p.153; Walters, Art of the Greeks, p.144.
 15) Furtwängler, Vasensammlung in Antiquarium I, pp.47-105; Pernice, Jahrbuch, XII, 1897, pp.9-48; Walters, Art of the Greeks, pp.144-145. cf. also Curtius, Jahrbuch, X, 1895, p.87; Antike Denkmäler, I, 1886, pls. VII-VIII; II, 1887, pls. XXIII, XXIV, XXIX, XXX; Wiener Vorlegeblätter, 1888, pl. I, No.4; Mon. gr., 1882, pp.24 ff.; Washburn, A.J.A., X, 1906, p.20 reports finding about 350 fragments which are apparently yet unpublished. 16) Called Sicyonian by Eust. (on I l. p.1343, 60). Quintilian, Inst. Orat. II, 13,13 calls him Cythnius wherefore some think he came from Cythnus. Klein, l.c., p.212, suggests that Quintilian misread his authority, reading Κύθνιος for Σικωνίος. The third century Timanthes of Sicyon (Plut., Aratus, 32,3) was probably a descendant of the first Timanthes whose activity was ca. 420-380 (Pliny, N.H., 35, 64). 17) Pliny, N.H., 35, 72.

ascribed to Timanthes, the Palamedes¹⁸ is uncertain, and of the hero in the temple of Peace in Rome we know nothing. It has been supposed, however, from Pliny's explanation¹⁹ that "it was a picture in which he touched perfection, having comprehended in it the whole art of painting the male figure" that it served as a Canon for painters like the Doryphorus of Polyclitus for sculptors. For his sleeping Cyclops with Satyrs at his side measuring his thumb with a thyrses, probably a presentation of the subject influenced by the Cyclops of Euripides in which Satyrs were brought on the stage with Polyphemus, we have evidence on a red-figured vase.²⁰ Our best estimate of Timanthes can be formed from his masterpiece, the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, in which he represented the maiden standing beside the altar on which she was to be offered up. Ancient writers praise him highly for his skill in exhibiting the intensity of the different degrees of emotion in the countenances of the by-standers which culminated in indicating the climax of grief in Agamemnon, the father of the victim who was represented with his head veiled from view.²¹ A wall-painting discovered at Pompeii²² agreeing in the essentials with this description was quite certainly indirectly derived from the original by Timanthes. A further adaptation of it is seen in a mosaic from Ampurias.²³ From these we can to some extent understand the verdict of ancient writers who declare that his works were so expressive that the spectator seems to see more than is actually there.

18) Tzetz. Chil., VIII, 403; Ptol. Hephaest. in Phot., Bibl., I, p.146 (Pekker). Klein, l.c. pp.213 f. rejects the passage as untrustworthy. 19) Pliny, N.H., 35, 74. 20) Robert, Bild und Lied, p.35. cf. Winter, Jahrbuch, VI, 1891, p.272 and Pl.VI; Sauer, Roscher, Lexicon, III², pp.2704 f. and fig.3. cf. A. Reinach, Recueil Milliet, I, p.250, n.3. 21) Pliny, N.H., 35, 73; Quint., Inst. Orat., II, 13, 12; Valer. Max. VIII, 11, ext. 6; Cic. Orat., XXII, 74; Eust. on Il. p.1343, 60. 22) Helbig, Wandgemälde 1304, 1305; Woltmann u. Woermann, Gesch. d. Malerei I, p.49, fig. 8; Faumeister, Denkmäler I, p.755, fig.807; Roscher, Lex. II¹, p.299; Mau-Kelsey, Pompeii², p.319, fig.156; Hermann-Erckmann, Denkm. d. Malerei des Altert., II, Pl.15. 23) Arch. Zeit. 1869, Pl.XIV; Pijoan, Hist. del Arte I, p.320, fig. 484; Neue Jahrbücher, XIX, 1907, Pl.II.

At about the end of the fifth century flourished Eupompus who is the first to stand at the head of a group of painters who in the strict sense of the word can be called a school. Pliny says of him that his reputation was so great that he occasioned a subdivision of the schools of painting into three, the Ionic, the Sicyonian, and the Attic, a statement which merely means that now the Sicyonian school raised itself enough to be distinguished from the rest of the Helladic school. Of his painting we are told²⁴ that in his opinion the successful artist must draw his inspiration from nature, and that he painted a victorious athlete holding a palm of victory.²⁵ It is probable that the type created by Eupompus is the one that inspired the numerous examples, collected by Milchhöfer,²⁶ of a young man holding a palm in the left hand, and raising a crown to his head with the right. His pupil, Pamphilus, who flourished in the first half of the fifth century, was a Macedonian,²⁷ who seems to have done most to bring the school to maturity. According to Pliny he was the first painter who had a thorough acquaintance with all branches of learning, especially arithmetic and geometry, and through his influence, first at Sicyon, and afterwards in all the schools of Greece, drawing was the earliest subject taught to all free-born boys.²⁸ His course of instruction at Sicyon extended for twelve years and the tuition was no less than a talent. In what the superiority consisted which attracted such a renowned pupil as Apelles and tempted Philadelphus of Egypt at the celebrated fête he held about 275 B.C. to decorate the royal

24) Pliny, N.H., 34, 61. 25) Pliny, N.H. 35,75. 26) Arch. Stud. Frunn. dgb. 1892, pp.62 ff. cf. Tarbell, The Palm of Victory, Cl. Phil. III, 1908, pp.264-278; Furtwängler, Masterpieces, p.256. 27) Suidas, s.v. Pamphilus; Pliny, N.H. 35,76. There was some confusion in ancient times as to his nationality and the distinction between the painter and a philosopher from Nicopolis. cf. Reinach, Recueil Milliet I, p.252. 28) We can judge from Arist. (Pol. VII, 3) that the theory of Pamphilus began to prevail toward the end of the fourth century, for after enumerating the customary branches of education: reading and writing, gymnastics and music, he adds that to them is sometimes added drawing. In it he sees the advantage of making one a better judge of the beauty of the human form (VII, 3,12).

tent with paintings from the Sicyonian school,²⁹ and led his successor Ptolemy III to acquire masterpieces of the Sicyonian painters,³⁰ is not entirely clear. Plutarch (l.c.) gives it a special name, λερήστρογγραφία,³¹ which Frunn³¹ and others interpret as an indication of a reaction against the excesses of Zuxis and Parrhasius. Klein³² thinks it was a new development in the method of encaustic painting³³ in wax. The method had been employed occasionally before Pamphilus but only after his time did it take its place on equal terms with the ordinary methods. It became especially popular under the Ptolemies as we know from the paintings from the Fayum.³⁴ Klein thinks that this is the method Petronius³⁵ refers to by the audacia of the Egyptians who attained the effects of great painting by this shortened method. This simplified process was due, he thinks, to the abandonment of the cestrum and the consequent slowness that the old encaustic method had involved. Pamphilus' fame would be due then more to his artistic science and ability as a teacher than as an original painter.³⁶

His pupil Melanthius who flourished from about 370 to 330 B.C. showed the same bent toward investigating the scientific process of the art, and is said to have excelled his fellow-pupil Apelles in composition.³⁷ The only one of his pictures mentioned is the portrait of Aristarchus, tyrant of Sicyon at the time of Philip, represented standing by a chariot of victory. Plutarch³⁸ quoting from Polemo's treatise on the Sicyonian painters, tells us that because

29) Athen. V, p.196 e. 30) Plut. Arat. 12 f. 31) Gesch. d. gr. Künstler II, pp.137 ff. 32) Arch.-Epigr. Mitt. aus Oester.-Ungarn. XI, 1887, pp.217 ff. 33) On the method cf. Plümmner, Technol., IV, pp.144 ff.; Ferger, Die Maltechnik des Alt. pp.185 ff.; Winter, Arch. Anz. XII, 1887, pp. 130 ff. 34) Ebers, Antike Porträts, die hellenistischen Porträts aus dem Fayum; cf. Edgar, J.H.S., XXV, 1905, pp.225-233; Rubensohn, Jahrbuch, XX, 1905, pp.16 ff.; Ferger, op.cit., pp.197 ff. 35) Satire 3. 36) On his paintings cf. Six, Jahrbuch, XX, 1905, pp.97 ff. 37) Pliny, N.H., 35, 80. 38) Aratus. XIII, 2 ff.

it was the work of the pupils of Melanthius and Apelles it was partially preserved at a later time when under Aratus all the portraits of tyrants were destroyed except this which suffered only to the extent of having the figure of Aristratus scraped out and a palm-tree painted in its place. He is also said to have written a treatise on painting.³⁹

The most distinguished pupil of Pamphilus and the best representative of the Sicynian school was Pausias, the son of Eryetes, by whom he was first instructed.⁴⁰ Flourishing as he did after the first quarter of the fourth century he was undoubtedly familiar with the high scientific principles of Pamphilus and profited by contact with the other great artists who resorted to the city which Pliny and Plutarch say was long the native home of painting. Pausias is most closely connected with technical improvements of the art, especially the development of the encaustic method in which Pliny (l.c.) says he was primum in hoc genere nobilem. On the other hand he was strikingly inferior in painting with the brush as we learn from his attempt to restore certain Polygnotan paintings at Thespieae.⁴¹ He made a practice of painting panelled ceilings and decorating vaulted roofs⁴² and habitually painted small pictures, especially boys. His rivals intimated that this was because his method of encaustic painting was slow and that he could not paint fast, whereupon, to prove his ability, he painted the picture of a boy in a single day which became famous under the name ἡ ἡμέρας ἔργον (day's work). A celebrated painting by him was the portrait of Glycera, a flower-girl of Sicyon with whom he was enamoured when a young man. Affection for his mistress and for his art

39) Diog. Laert. IV, 18; Pliny, N.H. index auctor. 35; Vitruv. VII, praef. 14 Melampus (= Melanthius). 40) Pliny, N.H. 35, 123. 41) The Polygnotan frescoes had probably been damaged when Thespieae was destroyed by the Thebans in 375 B.C. The restoration by Pausias may be placed at the rebuilding of the city in 335 B.C. 42) On these innovations see the article Lacunaria in Daremberg et Saglio and the articles referred to below in n. 47.

led him to strive to imitate the flowers in the garlands she wove and earned for him the earliest reputation as a flower painter which we meet with in the history of art. Another result was that he painted a portrait of Glycera herself seated with a wreath which, according to Pliny, was one of the famous pictures of antiquity and was called $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\ \eta\pi\lambda\acute{o}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ (garland weaver), or $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\omega\lambda\iota\varsigma$ (garland seller). He records that a copy of it was sold at the festival of Dionysus at Athens to Lucius Lucullus for the price of two talents.⁴³ Another technical advance made by Pausias was most evident in the best of his large pictures later seen in the Gallery of Pompey at Rome, the sacrifice of an ox.⁴⁴ This was striking for its bold foreshortening and the effects of light and shade. The ox was represented in its whole length in a front and not a side view; the figure of the ox was painted in black and the attendants were placed in a strong white light. This method of representing the modelling of objects by the gradations of a single color instead of using several distinct colors to represent projecting and retreating parts⁴⁵ Pliny says was an invention of Pausias that was often imitated but never equalled. Because of his superiority in decorative painting, he was called to Epidauros where Pausanias⁴⁶ informs us he saw two works by him which adorned the Tholos.⁴⁷ The one represented Methe, or personified Intoxication, whose face was visible through the transparent substance of the goblet out of which she drank.⁴⁸ The other represented Eros having laid aside his bow and arrows, and holding a lyre

43) Pliny, N.H. 35, 125 and 21,4. 44) Ibid. 35,126. The theme became common in Graeco-Roman times. See especially on the Ara Pacis and on a vase from Fosco-Reale (Reinach, Rep. Reliefs I, p.237 and I, 95). 45) The first great example we have of foreshortening in ancient art is that of the horse on the celebrated mosaic of the battle of Alexander. 46) II, 27, 3. 47) Kavvadias (Sitzber. Berl. Akad. 1909, p.540) thinks he decorated the inner wooden roof of the ceiling while Six (Jahrbuch XX, 1905, p.161 f.) thinks he painted on the marble roof of the colonnade. 48) For analogies see Six, l.c.



which he had taken up instead.⁴⁹ And it is not impossible that here too he decorated the tile roof with flower designs such as have been found in the remains of the building.

But it is as the first well-known master of the encaustic method for which Fliny praises him that Pausias and the Sicyonian school of encaustic painters have come into most prominence in recent times, namely in connection with the painted Hellenistic stelae from Fagasae in Thessaly.⁵⁰ Here about two hundred marble grave stelae with fairly well-preserved paintings have been found, some in perfect condition, but all of great artistic excellence in variety and delicacy of coloring done by the encaustic method and not carved as were Attic grave reliefs. Moreover the form of the stelae differs from Attic work in that the stone in which the picture is framed is flanked by projecting pilasters surmounted by a roof forming a naiskos or shrine in which the figures are represented. A close analogy to such grave monuments is described by Pausanias in Sicyon where he says of the tomb of Xenodice that it was not built in the usual Sicyonian style, but was planned so as to suit the painting which adorned it--a painting which he deemed well worth seeing. A find at Sicyon confirms Pausanias' statement about the architectural arrangement. The usual custom, as described by Pausanias, of burying by covering the body with earth, building a basement of stone over it, and erecting on the basement pillars on which rested a superstructure like the gables of temples, is illustrated both on coins of Sicyon and by local finds.⁵¹ Now if with Arvanitopoulos, the

49) This kind of Eros probably marks the transition between the old type holding a bow and arrows and the new type carrying a flower or more often a lyre. cf. Furtwängler in Roscher, Lex., Waser in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Eros, and Collignon, s.v. Cupido in Daremberg-Saglio. 50) Arvanitopoulos, Arch. Eph., 1908, pp.1-60, Pl. 1-4. On the Sicyonian school see esp. pp.23-31. cf. also *ibid.* 367-412 *Μνημεῖα*. A good popular article by Miss Walton is published in Art and Archaeology, IV, 1916, pp.47-53. 51) See Chap. I, pp.8-9.

discoverer of the Pagasae grave monuments, we surmise that the Sicyonian stelae were among the art treasures carried off by the Romans in 58 B.C.⁵² and that the Xenodice stelae and painting alone, for some reason, escaped, it accounts for the presence of this one monument which Pausanias describes as unique. Moreover, epigraphic evidence from contemporary inscriptions at both places, in the opinion of Arvanitopoulos, confirms the belief that Sicyonian painters were active in Pagasae.⁵³ The characteristic π from a late third century work appears frequently on the Pagasean monuments. Yet to attribute them to Sicyonian, Attic or Ionic schools as Arvanitopoulos has done does not seem to have found favor among scholars. Rodenwaldt⁵⁴ points out that we know of no such division of schools of encaustic painting, and that the epigraphic evidence is not conclusive for the peculiar form of π occurs in inscriptions as early as the middle of the fourth century. About the only conclusion we can come to, for the present, is to regard them as made by local artists at Pagasae under the influence of Attic grave and votive reliefs from the fifth and fourth centuries so far as theme and spirit are concerned. But in the matter of encaustic painting there was perhaps some influence from the Sicyonian school, and even in the theme of death in child-birth as on the Xenodice stele at Sicyon there is a parallel at Pagasae.⁵⁵

As pupils of Pausias two are definitely mentioned, Aristolaus and Nicophanes. The former, a son of Pausias, is said to have painted in the severe style.⁵⁶ Like his father and Apelles he painted a sacrifice of oxen. The subjects of his only other mentioned work, Epaminondas, Pericles, Nedra, Valor,

52) See Chap. VI, pp.87-88. 53) At Sicyon, cf. Earle, Cl. Rev. VI, 1892, p.133; at Pagasae, $\Theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\lambda\iota\kappa\alpha\ \mu\eta\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$, Nos. 10,34,45,73,77 and others. 54) Ath. Mitt. 35, 1910, p.137 and n.3. cf. Larfeld, Woch. f. Kl. Phil. 27, 1910, p.1053; Miss Walton, l.c. and A. Reinach, Recueil Milliet I, pp.266-267. 55) See Arch. Eph. 1908, Pl.I. 56) Pliny, N.H. 35, 137.

Theseus and a personification of the Athenian people are important for they show that the Sicyonian school had some influence even in Attica. Klein⁵⁷ and Six⁵⁸ were first to point out that the work was one painting, apparently a bit of symbolism. Media personified the Medes, the natural enemy of Greece; the Theseus, Demos and Valor symbolized Hellas freed by Athens; Pericles and Epaminondas embodied the idea of the states of Athens and Thebes. The occasion for it, as Klein thinks, could have been none other than the conclusion of the league in 338 B.C.⁵⁹ between these two states determined to overcome their petty jealousies in the interest of Greece against the Macedonian Philip.

Peside Aristolous Pliny mentions as a pupil of Pausias, Nicophanes,⁶⁰ who painted in the severe style. The grace, preciseness and delicacy of his paintings few could equal and the industry he showed was admired by artists but no merit could be seen in his coloring. An apparently contradictory statement in Athenaeus⁶¹ on the authority of Polemo calls him a *ῥωγιστής* and says he painted remarkably well. Socrates,⁶² on the other hand, seems to have pleased everybody with his paintings. One of these, representing Asclepius with his daughters Hygieia, Aegle, Panacea and Iaso, evidently a votive picture dedicated for a recovery, is a theme we know from votive reliefs⁶³ found in Athens and elsewhere. In his painting of *Ὀκνῶς* (Indolence) twisting a rope at which an ass is gnawing, a theme previously represented in the Delphian Iesche by Polygnotus,⁶⁴ he was probably giving expression to the idea of the fruitlessness of misdirected labor and energy. A variation of this subject is preserved on a relief in the Vatican.⁶⁵

57) *Gesch. d. gr. Kunst*, II, pp.315-316. 58) *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, p.163. cf. A. Reinach, *op.cit.*, p.264. 59) See Feloch, *Gr. Gesch.* III (1)², p.565. 60) N.H. 35, 111, 137. 61) XIII, p.567 f. 62) Pliny, N.H. 35, 137. cf. *Ibid.* 36,32. 63) Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, Nos.1148,1150. 64) *Paus.* X, 29,1. cf. Frazer, *Paus.* V, p.378 for interpretations of the subject. 65) Helbig, *Führer*, I³, No.359; Roscher, *Lex.* III, pp.822 f. figs. 1 a and b; Faumeister, *Denkmäler*, III, p.1925, fig.2041.

To the last part of the fourth and beginning of the third century B.C. belong also the Sicyonians Thales, Eutychides, and Arcesilas. Among the men bearing the name Thales, Diogenes Laertius⁶⁶ names a Sicyonian painter of great genius whom Duris had mentioned in his treatise on painting. Eutychides we have already spoken of in the chapter on sculpture in connection with his Eurotas and the Fortune of Antioch.⁶⁷ As a painter we are told only that he painted a two-horse chariot driven by Victory,⁶⁸ a subject we know from Campanian wall-paintings.⁶⁹ We may note that as a painter it is conjectured by Studniczka⁷⁰ that he worked on the so-called Alexander sarcophagus and Lippold⁷¹ has more recently put forward the contention that a painting in the House of the Vettii is a copy from an original by Eutychides. Arcesilas, son of the Sicyonian sculptor Tisicrates, a pupil of Lysippus' son Euthykrates, is mentioned only as a third rate painter by Pliny⁷² but in Pausanias⁷³ we have mention of one Arcesilaus who is generally identified as the same artist. By him there hung in the precinct of Athena and Zeus in the Piræus a painting of Leosthenes and his sons. Leosthenes we know fell while besieging Lamia in 323 B.C.⁷⁴ Arcesilaus and Eutychides show what close connection there existed between the two arts of painting and sculpture.

Most scholars following Frunz⁷⁵ have thought it possible to trace, from the beginning of the fourth century on, a school known as the Theban-Attic, existing side by side with the Sicyonian, flourishing for a time in Thebes, and upon its destruction striking root in Athens. At the head of the

66) I, 38. 67) See p. 117 ff. 68) Pliny, N.H. 35, 141. A. Reinaeh, (Recueil Milliet I, p. 269 n.) suggests it was made for a victory of the tyrant Aristaratus of Sicyon. We know that Melanthius and his pupils had painted him beside a chariot. (Plut. Arat. 13, 2 f.). 69) Helbig, Wandgemälde, Nos. 938, 939. 70) Jahrbuch, IX, 1894, p. 211. 71) Förm. Mitt. 33, 1918, pp. 70-71 with fig. 3. 72) N.H. 35, 146. 73) I, 1, 3. 74) Diod. XVIII, 13. 75) Gesch. d. gr. Künstler, II, pp. 159 ff.

Theban school was Aristides and it included such painters as Nicomachus, Ariston, Euphranor of Corinth and Nicias of Athens.⁷⁶ This school was supposedly free from the severe academic exactness and thoroughness of the Sicyonian school and displayed a greater ease, versatility and inventiveness, and was more intent upon the expression of human emotion. Klein⁷⁷ has shown that this is hardly warrantable by facts. He traces all of these painters back to the tutelage of Aristides and Pausias, and their successors are more or less connected with Sicyon. Aristides, the real founder of the school, was a son of Euxenidas, probably a Sicyonian⁷⁸ and a pupil of Polyclitus,⁷⁹ probably learned painting in Sicyon.⁸⁰ His son Nicomachus was engaged in Sicyon by the tyrant Aristratus, a contemporary of Philip of Macedon, to paint the monument he erected to the poet Telestes.⁸¹ Aristolaus from Sicyon, on the other hand, glorified Thebes by his painting of Epaminondas.⁸² With Aristides so closely identified with Sicyon and he instructing his three sons, Nicomachus, Nicerus, and Ariston, and with Euphranor, an Isthmian, being instructed by Aristides⁸³ it does not reveal much activity at Thebes on the part of native Thebans.

In Hellenistic times especially from the middle of the third down to the first century, several generations of painters flourished at Sicyon. An impetus was given them by the increased political importance which the city won through the initiative of their statesman Aratus who made it an influential

76) See genealogy, Brunn, op.cit., p.167; Jex-Blake and Sellers, op.cit., facing p.118. 77) Arch.-Epigr. Mitt. aus Oester.-Ungarn, XI, 1887, pp.227 ff.; cf. ibid., Gesch. d. gr. Kunst, II, pp.316 ff. 78) Pliny, N.H. 35, 75 cf. A. Reinach, op.cit., I, p.268 n.l. 79) Kroker, Gleichnamige gr. Künstler, p.33; Furtwängler, Masterpieces, p.349, both based on Pliny, N.H. 34, 50. 80) To him are ascribed two stelae found at Thebes representing charging warriors preserving a design which was evidently to be painted encaustically. The work is not Attic but belongs to the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century, Vollgraff, E.G.H., XXVI, 1902, pp.554-570 with Pls. VII-VIII. 81) Pliny, N.H., 35, 109. cf. Chap. VI, p.74. 82) Ibid., 35, 137. 83) Ibid., 35, 108, 111.

member of the Achaean League. Plutarch,⁸⁴ in his life of Aratus, tells us he had a taste for art, that he long collected the best works of Sicyonian masters for Ptolemy, and that this service won for him a favorable reception at the court of the Egyptian. The Timanthes⁸⁵ who accompanied him on his journey to Ptolemy when he secured money to relieve the distress of his fellow-citizens can be none other than the Sicyonian painter, so named, as was Greek custom, for the elder Timanthes. One of the subjects he portrayed was Aratus' repulse of the Aetolians at Pellene where he checked their invasion of the Peloponnese in 235 B.C.⁸⁶

Another painter and friend of Aratus who seems to have had some influence with him was Nealces. It is told of him that when Aratus destroyed the paintings of the tyrants of Sicyon he yielded in so far to Nealces that he partly preserved the one of Aristratus.⁸⁷ Probably also through the medium of Aratus Nealces came to the court of Ptolemy, whence his painting of a battle between the Persians and Egyptians on the Nile.⁸⁸ His painting of the groom coaxing a race-horse⁸⁹ is a theme we know from several representations in sculpture, especially the west frieze of the Parthenon.⁹⁰ Of his Venus mentioned by Pliny⁹¹ we know nothing except that, like his others, if the interpretation of the line from Fronto, "Quid, si Parrhasium versicolora pingere iuberet,, aut Nealcen magnifica...." is right, he painted on a small scale, but not

84) 12, 6 and 13. 85) Ibid., 12, 3. 86) Ibid., 32, 6. 87) Plut., Aratus, 13, 4 ff. cf. p.135, n.81. 88) Pliny, N.H., 35, 142. See the interpretation of Münzer, Hermes, 30, 1895, p.532, n.2 who disputes his identity with the Sicyonian Nealces. A. Reinach, Recueil Milliet, I, p.395, n.6 shows they may be the same. 89) Pliny, N.H. 35, 104. Reinach, op.cit., I, p.394, No.522 and note points out that Plut. De Fort. 4; Dio Chrysostom, Orat. 63, 4 and Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrh. Hypoth., I, 28 refer to the same but do not give the artist's name. 90) cf. Winter, Jahrbuch, VIII, 1893, p.142; Parthenon, West frieze, slab VIII, 15; a gem in the Coll. Tyszkiewicz, Furtwängler, Ant. Gemmen, Pl.IX, 14. 91) N.H. 35, 142.

necessarily small-pictures.⁹² He is important, too, for having instructed several pupils, Anaxandra, his daughter, and Erigonus, his color-grinder who rose to the profession of his master.⁹³ He, in turn, had a pupil, Pasias, whose brother, Aiginetas, followed the same profession.⁹⁴ Xenon,⁹⁵ the Sicyonian, named as a pupil of an unknown Neocles, probably a corruption of the name Nealces, is mentioned by Pliny only in passing. In the circle of painters attracted by Aratus, ought also to be included the Mnasiatheus of Pliny probably the same friend mentioned by Plutarch⁹⁶ who assisted Aratus in the liberation of his native city, and Leontiscus, who painted Aratus as a victor with a trophy, and a woman playing the cithara.⁹⁷

The few passages that survive from Polemo's treatise on the Stoa Poecile at Sicyon show that it certainly was composed as late as the time of Nealces⁹⁸ which suggests the assumption that this was the catalogue utilized by the bosom friend of Cicero when in 58 B.C. the art treasures of Sicyon were sold to liquidate the public debt and were brought to Rome.⁹⁹

The artistic genealogy of the Sicyonian school of painting is graphically shown below.¹⁰⁰ Under the horizontal lines are shown the three pupils of

92) J. Six, *Jahrbuch XXII*, 1907, pp.1-6; cf. *ibid.*, *Jahrbuch*, XVIII, 1903, pp.34 ff.
 93) Anaxandra, *Clem. Alex.*, *Strom.* IV, 124 (p. 620 Pott.); probably same as the Anaxander of Pliny, *N.H.*, 35, 146. So Brunn, *op.cit.*, II, p.291. Erigonus: Pliny, *N.H.*, 35, 145. 94) *Ibid.*, 35, 145. 95) *Ibid.*, 35, 146. 96) Pliny, *N.H.* 35, 146; *Plut. Aratus* 7, 4. So Brunn, *op.cit.*, II, p.292. 97) Pliny, *N.H.*, 35, 141. Reinach, *op.cit.*, I, p.397 cites such a woman playing a cithara among the frescoes from Fosco-Reale (A. Sambon, *Les fresques de F.*, pl. I, cf. Helbig, 1442 and two dancers in a painting from Corneto, Martha, *L'art étrusque*, fig. 288.
 98) *Plut. Aratus*, 13, 2 f. = Müller, *F.H.G.* III, p.120, surely composed before 177/6 when Polemo became proxenus at Delphi; cf. Dittenberger, *Syll. Insc. Gr.*, No.198 and Foucart, *Revue de philologie*, II, 1878, p.215. 99) See Chap. VI, p.87.
 100) cf. Jex-Blake and Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the Hist. of Art*, facing p.118 and A. Reinach, *Recueil Milliet* I, p.267.

Famphilus and Pausias, respectively. Where they are not Sicyonians I have noted the exception.

	Timanthes (middle 5th cent.)	
	Eupompus (end of 5th cent.)	Euxenidas whose pupil Aristides founded the Theban-Attic school.
Fryes	Famphilus of Amphipolis (c. 400 - 350)	
<hr/>		
Pausias (c. 380 - 330)	Melanthius (c. 370-330)	Apelles of Colophon (c. 370-290)
		Thales Arceas Eutychides. (c. 330-280)
<hr/>		
Aristolaus (c. 360-320)	Nicophanes	Socrates

The second Sicyonian school which flourished in Hellenistic times includes:

Timanthes II, Nealces with his two pupils, Anaxandra, his daughter, and Erigonus who in turn had two pupils, Pusias and his brother Aiginetes. Finally there are Leontiscus, Mnasiheus, and Xenon.

CHAPTER IX.


The Sicyonian Treasuries at Olympia and Delphi.

Sect. 1. The Treasury at Olympia.

On the terrace north of the Sacred Altis at Olympia, overhung by Mount Cronius there was in ancient times a row of treasuries between the Exedra of Herodes Atticus and the Stadium, the Sicyonian being the most westerly of the group. Pausanias¹ describes it, in part, as follows: "There is a terrace made of conglomerate stone in the Altis to the north of the Heraeum, and at the back of it extends Mount Cronius. On this terrace are the treasuries, just as at Delphi some of the Greeks have made treasuries for Apollo. At Olympia there is a treasury called the treasury of the Sicyonians, an offering of Myron, tyrant of Sicyon. Myron built it after he had gained a victory in the chariot race in the thirty-third Olympiad. In the treasury he made two chambers, one in the Doric, the other in the Ionic style. I saw that they were made of bronze, but whether the bronze is Tartessian bronze, as the Eleans say, I do not know. On the lesser of the chambers at Olympia there are inscriptions, mentioning that the weight of the bronze is five hundred talents, and that the treasury was dedicated by Myron and the people of Sicyon."

Though the treasury has been much destroyed, the German excavations have revealed the foundations and enough of the widely scattered architectural members to be able to restore with considerable certainty the whole building.²

1) Paus. VI, 19, 1 ff. (tr. Frazer). 2) For restoration see Börfeld, Olympia, Ergebnisse, Tafelband I, Pl. XXVII-XXX. The treasury is described by the following: Börfeld, Olympia, Ergebnisse, Textband II, p.41. ff; Ausgrabungen IV, pp.35-37 with Pl. XXXIII; Adler, Arch. Zeit. 39, 1881, p.66; Flasch, Olympia, in Faumeister's Denkmäler, pp.1104 f ff.; Fr. Richter, De thesauris Olympiae effossis, Berlin, 1885; Röttcher, Olympia², pp.220 ff; Paedeker, Griechenland², p.344; Fougères. Guides-Joanne², p.352; Dyer, J.H.S., 26, 1906, pp.76 ff. and fig. 13.

It had the form of a small Doric temple³ in antis, facing south, standing on a foundation 12.80 x 7.31 metres. Its foundation consisted of a variety of materials, the lower part of small stones, with pebbles, shell-limestone, breccia and fragments of roof tiles bonded with clay mortar. The upper courses of the foundation were built of the same course shell-limestone as most of the other buildings at Olympia. The blocks of the upper structure, clamped together with  shaped clamps of which there were none in the foundation, consisted of a fine-grained, yellowish-red sandstone, used in the construction of no other building at Olympia. This fact made possible the recognition of many of the original blocks of the treasury, some with masons' marks in the Sicyonian alphabet,⁴ found scattered up and down the Altis. Since ancient Sicyon seems to have been built of exactly the same kind of stone, Dörpfeld⁵ has conjectured that all the blocks were quarried and hewn at Sicyon and brought around by sea ready to be put together at Olympia.

The condition of the foundation showed it had a pronaos, and the difference in the thickness of the walls of the pronaos shows it was built as a templum in antis⁶ with an arrangement for closing it off with some kind of grating. Two drums and a capital that form a complete column having a total height of 3.84 metres were found. A slight entasis seems visible in the column, and the echinus of the capital is similar to that of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. On the southeast corner of the foundation is a broadening out whose meaning is not clear but may have served as an altar connected with the treasury.

3) Polemo actually called the treasuries temples. cf. Athenaeus XI, p.479 f.: Müller, F.H.G. III, p.121, fr. 20. 4) Arch. Zeit. 39, 1881, pp.169-179, Nos. 395, 396, 397; Insch. von Olympia, Nos. 649, 650, 668; Roehl, I.G.A., Add. pp. 171-173, Nos. 27 b, 27 c, 27 d. 5) Athen. Mitt. VIII, 1883, pp.67-70. 6) To the antae belonged the inscriptions that helped identify it. Cf. Insch. von Olympia, 640, 650.

A frieze of triglyphs and metopes ran all around the temple, twenty-nine of the original thirty-six blocks have been found. The gables were unsculptured. The roof was of marble tiles. Traces of blue paint were visible on some of the triglyphs, and red and blue on the top of the inside walls both of vestibule and cella prove it had a fretted frieze, ending, where it touched the ceiling, with a Doric cyma.⁷

Pausanias says that the treasury had two bronze chambers, one in the Doric, the other in the Ionic style, the lesser of which was dedicated by Myron and the Sicyonians in honor of his victory in the chariot race in the thirty-third Olympiad (648 B.C.) Obviously this would mean that as late as the seventh century the Greeks lined their walls with bronze and that the Peloponnesians in this century built in the Ionic style. Such conclusions were entirely upset by the excavations as the walls showed no trace of ever having been lined with bronze and the style is pure Doric throughout.⁸ The architectural style agrees so closely with the temple of Zeus at Olympia which we know dates from a little before the middle of the fifth century⁹ that Dörpfeld was inclined to assign it to that period, but from a slight technical indication, a small round projection on the upper edge of the triglyphs and metopes, it was thought to be influenced by the Parthenon and therefore would date in the second half of the fifth century.¹⁰ But Dyer,¹¹ who more recently has investigated this subject, has shown that in architectural features it rather antedates the Parthenon and places the date of its erection about 480 B.C.

The two bronze chambers (Θαλαμῶν), the one Doric and the other Ionic in style seen by Pausanias could not be, as he says, chambers of the

7) Dörpfeld, Olympia, Ergebnisse, Textband II, pp.41-42, Tafelband I, Pl. XXVII-XXVIII. 8) Dörpfeld, l.c., II, p.42. 9) Dörpfeld, l.c., pp.18 ff.
10) l.c. p.43. 11) J.H.S. XXVI, 1906, pp.80 ff.

treasury, but rather models of a temple or shrine in bronze. It is supposed that the lesser of these, the Doric, was dedicated by Myron and the Sicyonians after his chariot victory and left in the open, and moved into the treasury when it was built more than a century and a half later and because of the dedicatory inscription on it Pausanias was misled to think the entire treasury was included in this dedication. The Ionic one may have been a much later offering. That the foundation was prepared for the great weight of the thalamoi, the lesser of which weighed 500 talents, approximately nineteen tons, is evident from the heavy foundations laid under the north part of the cella. The bronze was probably brought from Tartessia in southern Spain as the Eleans maintained.¹²

Among the dedications and relics in the treasury seen by Pausanias¹³ beside the thalamoi were three quoits used in the pentathlon,¹⁴ a bronze-plated shield with helmet and greaves, an offering to Zeus by the Mynians,¹⁵ the sword of Pelops with a golden hilt, an ivory horn of Amalthea¹⁶ (the oldest dedication by a chariot victor at Olympia), an offering of Miltiades, son of Cimon¹⁷ bearing a dedicatory inscription in old Attic letters,¹⁸ and a boxwood image of

12) On Tartessian bronze cf. Strabo, III, 146; Diod., V, 36, 2; Scymn, 164; Pliny, N.H., III, 30; Elümner, Gewerbe und Künste bei den Gr. und Röm., IV, p.65; Curtius, Gr. Gesch. I, 6, p.243. It was probably imported through Italian cities. It is peculiar that a city noted for metal work and possessing copper mines should import the bronze. cf. Chap. II, pp.31,32. 13) VI, 19, 4 ff. 14) On diskoi cf. Gardiner, Gr. Athletic Sports and Festivals, p.318; Hyde, Olympic Victor Monuments and Gr. Athletic Art, p.22. 15) Probably wood or leather shield plated with bronze. cf. Herod. IV, 200, Arist. Vesp. 18; Elümner, op.cit. p.338. On Mynians cf. Thuc. III, 101, 2, on spelling of name cf. Ditt. Syll.² 858. 16) On Amalthea cf. Pöttiger, Amalthea I, 26; Welcker, Gr. Götterlehre II, p.231; Stoll in Roscher, lexicon I, p.264; Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, I, 1721. 17) Pausanias is wrong when he says it was that Miltiades, son of Cimon, the first of his family to reign in the Chersonese. The first Athenian tyrant was not the famous Miltiades, son of Cimon, who led the Athenians at Marathon, but his uncle, Miltiades, son of Cypselus. cf. Herod. VI, 34 ff. 18) Letters of the old Attic alphabet officially abolished in archonship of Eucleides 403-2 B.C. cf. Kirchhoff, Studien zur Gesch. d. gr. Alphabet⁴, p.92 ff.

Apollo by Patrocles of Crotona, son of Catillus, a dedication by the Locrians.¹⁹
 A possible dedication is a four-sided bronze spear-head found near the Byzantine wall which is assumed to have been part of booty dedicated by the Sicyonians.²⁰
 Another unknown dedication which evidently stood or hung somewhere in the pro-naos is known from its accompanying dedicatory inscription²¹ though nothing remains to give us a clue to its nature. The suggestion has been made that it was a dedication by Cypselus but circumstances do not allow this.²²

Next to the bronze spear-head in point of age among Sicyonian offerings in the treasury is what now remains as only a bronze strap.²³ Purgold²⁴ conjectured from the inscription that it may be part of the dedication by Myron seen by Pausanias.

The inscriptions mentioned in connection with the treasury are important for the light they throw on the Sicyonian alphabet and its development and how it differs from the Corinthian to which it is closely related. They show that in the fifth century both Σ and ϵ are used for epsilon, iota was a simple, vertical line, for sigma Λ , ς or ξ , the first of which was found on the spear-head inscription, which consequently is the oldest.²⁵
 Especially characteristic of the Sicyonian alphabet is Σ for epsilon.

19) This Patrocles is otherwise unknown. Födticher, Olympia², p.223 would identify him with the Patrocles in Paus. VI, 3, 4, and X, 9, 10; not so Frunn, Gesch. d. gr. Künstler, I, p.277 ff. 20) cf. Kirchhoff, Arch. Zeit. 36, 1878, p.140, No.181, Pl. XVIII, 4; Roehl, I.G.A., p. 5, no.17; corrected facsimile by Purgold, Arch. Zeit. XXXIX, 1881, p.171, No.395; Roehl, I.G.A., Add. p.171, No.27 a (Earle in A.J.A., IV, 1888, p.429 wrongly states the latter and I.G.A. p. 5, No.17, are two different inscriptions); Roehl, Imagines³ p.48, No.3. 21) Purgold, Arch. Zeit., 39, 1881, p.171, No.396; Roehl, I.G.A., p.173, No.27 d; Imagines³, p.50, No.7; Insch. von Olympia, No.650. 22) Roehl in I.G.A., p.173, No.27 d. For objections cf. Insch. von Olympia, No.650. 23) Kirchhoff, Arch. Zeit., 37, 1879, p.162, No.315; Roehl, I.G.A., p.13, No.21; Imagines³, p.49, No.1; E.S.Roberts, Intr. to Gr. Epigr., I, p.126, No.94. 24) Arch. Zeit. 39, 1881, p.179. 25) Kirchhoff, Stud. zur Gesch. d. gr. Alphabets⁴, p.112.

Of the history of the building we have no information except the knowledge that it survived till Byzantine times. Holes cut in the triglyphs show that in late Roman days an "aulon" was built on the east side. The Byzantines spared it at the time of the erection of their big fortress wall for no stones from the treasury were found in that wall. The destruction of the whole building followed, apparently, on the erection of the Byzantine church for many of the stones from the cella, antae and architrave were found imbedded in the church wall.²⁶

Sect. 2. The Treasury at Delphi.

The Sicyonian treasury was in ancient times the first structure of its kind to meet the eye of the visitor to Delphi as he advanced up the Sacred Way. On the left hand beyond the pair of hemicycle monuments of the Argives and the lower Tarentine offering, have been uncovered the ruins of a little poros temple in antis. Because its form and dimensions are those of a treasury and because it is the first on the Sacred Way conforming to the description of Pausanias²⁷ who said that: "Next to the dedication of the Tarentines is the treasury of the Sicyonians," Homolle²⁸ identified it as the treasury of the Sicyonians. The only other ancient reference to it is by the traveller Ptolemy²⁹ who, on his visit to it in the second century B.C., saw in it a gilded book with an epic poem by Aristomache of Erythrae, a poetess who won two victories at the Isthmian games.

The treasury was built in Doric style, facing the east, and stood on

26) Dörpfeld, l.c., p.44. 27) X, 11, 1. 28) B.C.H., 18, 1894, p.187; 20, 1896, pp.658 ff.; Fouilles de Delphes, IV, p.18. It is generally marked as foundation III on the plans of the temenos of Delphi. 29) Plut. Quaest. Conviv., V, 2, p.675 F : Müller, F.H.G. III, p.123, fr.27.

a base measuring 2.43 x 6.35 metres. In the foundations can be seen fragments of at least two buildings, one circular, the other rectangular. In and about the foundations were found a number of archaic, sculptured metopes of tufa whose subject matter and state of preservation have made it difficult to determine their provenance and, as a result, attempts at the assignment of the remains of the buildings and the sculptures have given rise to much controversy.³⁰ Homolle³¹ originally connected them all with an early treasury of Doric style, dating the building by a comparison of the reliefs to those of temples C and F at Selinus to a time before the middle of the sixth century. Further excavation by Pomtow³² in the deeper foundation added new evidence regarding the original form of the building. So many of the rounded members were seen that he maintained that there stood here originally a tholos of poros, a circular monument, dating from the sixth century, while the treasury mentioned by Pausanias dated from the end of the fifth century. This tholos was thought to have stood on a terraced, circular foundation, 6.40 metres in diameter, with 13 columns, 2.50 metres high, without a oella wall, and served perhaps as a music hall and dated from the time of Cleisthenes. Having found in the foundation some straight members, especially architrave blocks said to be of the same size as the curved members but bevelled at the ends he concluded that in front of the tholos stood a rectangular portico to which he would assign the archaic metopes.

This restoration of the tholos with a rectangular portico met with little favor for to add a prodromos to the round structure would be useless in a building which was entirely open and accessible from all sides.³³ The argument

30) The most recent and exhaustive study of it is by Dinsmoor, F.C.H., 36, 1912, pp.443 ff. 31) F.C.H. 18, 1894, pp.187-188; 20, 1896, p.658; Fouilles de Delphes, IV, p.21. For other datings see Dinsmoor, l.c. p.445, n.l. 32) Berl. Phil. Woch. 29, 1909, pp.348 ff. with plan, and p.381; 31, 1911, p.1579 ff. with reconstructions. 33) cf. Homolle, Fouilles de Delphes, IV, p.19.

for it was conclusively refuted by Courty³⁴ who showed that the rectangular pieces are too unlike those of the round building to allow their use as a tetrastyle portico attached to the tholos. Further, he determined by a careful measuring of the members, that the architrave did not rest on a colonnade but on a wall of masonry, a continuous support, and that here stood a circular monument, a tholos, but without columns, built with a solid wall. The straight members were from a small rectangular treasury to which he would assign the metopes.

That this was the architectural form of the original structure seems to be accepted by Dinsmoor³⁵ in the most recent study in identifying the treasuries at Delphi. By a careful study of the rectangular building, the thickness of the foundation walls, the form of clamp holes, the epistyles and various architectural members he concludes that the treasury dates from the close of the fifth century B.C.³⁶ The archaic architectural parts, including one of the metopes, found in the foundation walls, where they were used as filling helped prove the earlier date of the sculptures which, by their style, we shall see were executed a little before the middle of the sixth century. After an exhaustive study of the old Syracusan foundation (V a) he concludes from the similarity of measurements that the archaic metopes and column fragments come from the oldest treasury of the Syracusans.³⁷ This was torn down and completely rebuilt at the end of the fifth century B.C. in commemoration of the Syracusan victory over the Athenians. At this rebuilding part of the material and especially the metopes may have been carried away and used as filling under the Sicyonian treasury which was built at the same time.

34) F.C.H., 35, 1911, pp.132-148. 35) F.C.H., 36, 1912, p.445.

36) l.c., pp.445- and 467-473. 37) Foundation V in the plan on Pl. VIII, F.C.H. 36, 1912.

Whether further investigation will confirm or disprove this remains to be seen. I have not seen any refutation of this conclusion but in view of the publication of the metopes under the nomenclature "Sicyonian" and their usual assignment to the treasury³⁸ I include a brief discussion of their subject and style.

Out of a total of eighteen metopes a dozen remain. All are of clear, yellow tufa that was easily worked and capable of high polish. The original size of each was 90 x 55 cm., a proportion characteristic of early archaism also met with in Sicilian temples.³⁹ Many of the fragments⁴⁰ such as the head of a horse, a horse's hoof, a fragment of drapery, and a hand with a bracelet are so small and battered that I omit a description of them.

I. The Calydonian Fear.⁴¹

The boar is charging with lowered head against an invisible object on the right. A thick, bristling mane rises from the neck to the middle of the back and from there it narrows toward the root of the tail and is edged by a thick layer of hair. The erect ear, the open eye, strong muscling, and broad

38) Previously assigned to seven different structures: The present Sicyonian treasury; F.C.H., 18, 1894, p.187; 20, 1896, p.674; Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. de l'Art, VIII, p.459; Fouilles de Delphes II, Pl.9; B.P.W., XXVI, 1906, p.1178. An earlier Sicyonian treasury on the same site; B.C.H., 20, 1896, p.668; Fouilles de Delphes, IV, p.18; Zeitschrift f. gesch. d. Architektur, 1910, p.121; B.P.W., 31, 1911, p. 1583. An earlier Sicyonian treasury near temple (-apsidal foundation); Keramopoulou, Guide, pp.38,60. Prodromos of tholos on present site of Sicyonian treasury; B.P.W., 29, 1909, p.350; Zeitschrift f. gesch. d. Architektur, 1910, pp.118 ff. A Spartan treasury on site called Sicyonian; Robert, Faus. als Schriftsteller, p. 304. An earlier Theban treasury on foundation VII; Zeitschrift f. gesch. d. Architektur, 1910, p.139. An unknown colonnade; F.C.H., 35, 1911, p.145. (From Dinsmoor in F.C.H., 36, 1912, p.467). 39) Fouilles de Delphes, IV, pp.20 ff. 40) Ibid., pp.30-32 and fig. 15. 41) Homolle, F.C.H., 20, 1896, pp.659 ff. Pl. X, fig. 1; Fouilles de Delphes IV, pp.22-23, Pl.III; Poulsen, Delphi, pp.82-84, fig. 23; Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. de l'Art, VIII, p.458, fig.228; Reinach, Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains I, p.137, 2.

shoulder and buttocks give expression to the terror and violence of the animal, an idea which is heightened by the great size of the beast which fills the whole slab and contrasts strikingly with the feeble little dog barking under the monster. Especially expressive are the sinews of the legs, the deep folds of hide over the forelegs, and the modelling of the parts around the eye. The rendering of the body is well done suggesting the fleshy softness of the fat, greasy hide over a big, well-rounded, bony frame. Remains of black paint are visible on the hair and probably on the eye. Traces of a painted inscription can be seen in the field of the slab but it is so indistinct that it is now illegible⁴² but there is no doubt but that the legend represented is that of the monstrous boar sent by Artemis to lay waste the fields of Calydon in whose hunt Meleager was the hero.

II. Europa on the Bull.⁴³

On the back of a bull advancing to the right, with its neck stretched forward, the left fore-leg raised and the others planted firmly on the ground, sits a woman, bending forward, clinging timorously, with one hand on the animal's rump, and with the other probably grasping one of the bull's horns. In the space in the upper left hand corner are faint traces of an unknown object, probably a bird flying.

The artist has observed with the keenness of a connoisseur of animals all the characteristics of his subject. He has expressed the heavy, clumsy

42) Fouilles de Delphes, IV, p.22. 43) Homolle, P.C.H., 20, 1896, pp.659-660, Pl. X, fig. 2; Fouilles de Delphes, IV, pp.23-24, Pl. III; Poulsen, op.cit., pp. 76-82, fig. 19; Lermann, *Altgr. Kunst*, p.15, fig.4; Springer-Michaelis, *Kunstgesch.*⁷, p.146, fig. 282 a; Perrot and Chipiez, op.cit., VIII, p.461, fig.230; Reinach, op.cit., p.137, 1; von Nach, *Handbook of Gr. and Roman Sculp.* 43 a, Pl. 43 a. Fourguet, *Les Ruines de Delphes*, p.61, fig. 17.

gait of the bull striding forward. The large shoulder, the thick neck, the folded lines of the dewlap, suggestive of the thickness of the hide, the tufty curls on the neck as one would see especially in bulls untamed and living in the open, the long tail, straight and firm, enlarged at the extremity to a big tuft of hair, are traits of nature that are well known and here modelled with sincerity and energy.

The woman is covered by a peplos drawn together, in part, by a high girdle. A mantle, folded up, is thrown over her left arm like a scarf. Her head and part of her bust are wanting but one can see faintly on her back that her hair was done up in a long pigtail so her locks appear like beads of pearls. A visible effort is made to depict the folds of her garment which is gathered up behind and under the skirt, and the legs are indicated under the garment. The stiff lines of the wrap folded over her left arm bring out the curved lines of the slender body of the timid woman and fill up the space, cutting by contrast the length of the fore-quarters of the bull. The surface of the garments are in wine red, with no trace of color on the bull and no inscription. The story is familiar from the description by Moschus⁴⁴ how Zeus, when he saw Europa among other maidens plucking flowers, became enamored of her and changed himself to the form of a bull, enticed her on his back and carried her off to Crete.

III. The Dioscuri and Apharidae with the plundered cattle.⁴⁵

Inscriptions in the field of the slab inform us that the scene represents the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces, and the sons of Aphareus, Idas and

44) Id. 2. 45) E.C.H., 20, 1896, pp.661-662, Pl. XI, fig.2; Fouilles de Delphes IV, pp.24-26, Pl. IV, fig. 1; G.F.A., 1895, p.323 with one figure; Poulsen, Delphi, pp.86-89, fig. 25; Collignon, L'archéologie gr., p.121, fig.58; Springer-Michaelis, op.cit., I, p.147, fig. 282 b; Perrot and Chipiez, op.cit., VIII, p. 457, fig. 227; Reinach, op.cit., p.136, 2; von Mach, op.cit., Pl. 43 a; Fourguet, op.cit., p.63, fig. 18.

Lynceus, the last-named not represented in the relief. The story is known from the Cypria,⁴⁶ Apollodorus,⁴⁷ and its sequel, especially, from Pindar⁴⁸ how the four made a raid on a herd of oxen and drove them away from the highlands of Arcadia but after the raid in a quarrel with the Apharidae, Castor, who was of mortal blood, was slain. His brother, Polydeuces, son of a god and immortal, inconsolable for the loss of his brother, besought Zeus to be permitted to give his own life as a ransom for him. Zeus so far consented as to allow the brothers to enjoy life alternately, each spending one day under the earth and the next in the heavenly abodes. The time of the scene here represented is the peaceful and victorious return before the quarrel.

The metope is badly mutilated but we can make out three male figures marching one behind the other toward the right, a fourth followed we know, as about 20 cm. are wanting on the left. They all wear the same costume and have the same posture. Each advances the left foot, carrying on his left shoulder two short, well-made spears, and in the right hand, lowered, two spears in a horizontal position.

The costume is simple, a chlamys, fastened on the right shoulder and disengaged from the right hand, leaving visible part of the nude body wearing the Homeric waistband.⁴⁹ On the feet are sandals with front flap and side laces. The upper half of the heads is wanting but it was attired, so far as can be judged, with a helmet without tailpiece and visor.⁵⁰ The two in front have heads in profile, the third in front view. Only on the central figure can be made out the thin lips raised at the corners of the mouth, the prominent eye, and the smooth cheek with sharply bounded lower jaw. The hair in the case of two of them is in long pigtails but in the third, grooved, and falls down over

46) Fr. 9 (Kink). 47) II, 11, 3. 48) Nem. X, 112 ff. 49) cf. Perdrizet, B.C.H., 21, 1897, p.174. 50) Homolle, Fouilles, IV, p.25.

their shoulders, neck and chest. The bodies are erect and express vigor of movement, rhythm and cadence in their gait.

In the intervals between the two hindmost and in front of the first are seen bulls advancing by threes, the foremost of each group with head in full front, the two hindmost of each group with heads in profile. They advance at a pace equal to that of the men and with their bodies so aligned on the relief as to form three planes behind each of the men. The eye, ear and the forehead with a kind of spiral rose work on as found at other places⁵¹ are peculiarly rendered. Poulsen⁵² has well called attention to the difference of composition in this metope as compared to the others. Here the sculptor has secured the massed effect of a closely packed crowd by placing in front men dressed in heavy, smooth garments, on bare inexpressive legs, one behind the other and behind them the bulls with heads raised in monotonous profile yet not letting details detract from the general expression of the scene.

IV. Orpheus on the Argo.⁵³

The metope is badly broken but can be put together except for the lacking middle part. The slab represents a ship's prow turned toward the left, but now broken, the hull decorated with three round shields under which are semicircular oarholes. On the middle of the deck are two persons, upright and in full front. One is beardless and the other has a beard on his chin. Otherwise the features are very much battered. Their costume is a long chiton, tied with a girdle and over it is a mantle fastened on the right shoulder. The borders of the mantle are decorated with geometric designs. Upright in their

51) Argive Heraeum II, Pl. LXXV, 23; p. 202, n. 1; Karo, Jahrbuch, XXVI, 1911, p. 252.
52) Delphi, p. 88. 53) Homolle, P.C.H., 20, 1896, p. 662, Pl. XI, 1; Fouilles de Delphes, IV, pp. 27-30, Pl. IV, fig. 2; Poulsen, op.cit., pp. 84-86, fig. 24; Assmann, Jahrbuch, 1905, p. 32 (schematic reproduction of fr. of ship only); Perrot and Chipiez, op.cit., VIII, p. 459, fig. 229; Reinach, op.cit., p. 136, 1; Pourguet, op.cit., p. 65, fig. 19.

left hands they hold musical instruments suspended from the neck. In the right hand is the plectrum attached to the cithara whose strings were evidently represented by painting.

On the left side a horseman in full front view leans toward the right, seemingly to listen to the musicians. He wears a short chiton, cuirass, and shoes laced high in front. Head and arms have disappeared. On the right the metope has suffered more by weathering but one can still see part of a horse's leg and breast for which the head has probably been found⁵⁴ and we can here restore a horseman similar to the one on the left. The garments, shields and prow are painted red. On the background of the musician to the right is an inscription in black letters reading $\text{OP}\Phi\text{A}\Sigma$; other inscriptions are uncertain.⁵⁵ Aided by this clue and the presence of the two horsemen everyone will be reminded of the legend of the Argonauts. The shields on the deck are the contrivance ordered by Jason.⁵⁶ The horsemen are the Dioscuri. Orpheus we know as one of the chiefs of the Argonauts whose advice they followed⁵⁷ and whose lyre and singing calmed friends and foes⁵⁸ and enticed even the fishes of the sea.⁵⁹

Regarding the date of the sculptures it is generally agreed that they date from the transitional period when sculptors changed from work in a stone of soft material to that of marble. This date is quite definitely known both for architecture and sculpture.⁶⁰ The closest analogies to these metopes are those of temple C at Selinus and whose date is fixed in the decade 580-570 B.C.⁶¹

54) Fouilles de Delphes, IV, p.29 and fr. 11, p.30. 55) Ibid, p.29 and 33 with note 1. 56) Apoll. Rhod., I, 1134; IV, 199 ff. 57) *ibid.*, I, 915 ff.
58) *Ibid.* I, 494, 1134, IV, 905, 1158. 59) *Ibid.* I, 568 ff. 60) For architecture after middle sixth century, Wiegand, *Porosarchit.* pp.59 ff., p.64. For sculpture about 600 cf. Lechat, *La sculpture attique avant Phidias*, p.101.
61) Hulot and Fougères, *Sélinonte*, p.215.

It is true that one of the reliefs from Delphi, the return of the Dioscuri with its three bulls turning their heads in full front view reminds one very much of the style of the prearchaic relief from Selinus of the bull with Europa,⁶² still a comparison with the later Selinuntian reliefs, Perseus slaying the Gorgon,⁶³ Heracles carrying off the Caeopros,⁶⁴ and the Quadriga⁶⁵ bring out striking similarities. We note the artist's attempt at balances, the filling of the entire space of the relief, how the figures appear in full front view, the same representation of the hair, and how the same attempt and the same means are employed to break the rigidity of the figures. Yet the maker of the metopes from Delphi has surpassed in the composition of his figures, and has gotten better proportions and executed his modelling better. One thing is common to both sets of metopes, the background is left unpainted, a feature which is usual down to the end of the sixth century. Even the forms of the Selinuntian metopes are more archaic as there the figures are inserted between vertical lateral borders while at Delphi they have triglyphs at the ends. By a close analysis of style, therefore, Homolle assigns the reliefs from Delphi to the period between 570-550 B.C.⁶⁶ The date

62) Perrot and Chipiez, op.cit. VIII, p.499; Monumenti antichi, I, p.958; Foulson, Delphi, p.80, fig. 22; Reinach, op.cit. I, p.397, fig. 4; Hulot and Fougères, op.cit. p.283; von Mach, op.cit., pp.47 ff., fig. 7. 63) Penndorf, Die Metopen von Selinunt, pl. 1, pp.44; Perrot and Chipiez, op.cit., VIII, p.487; Smith, Catalogue of sculptures in Br. Museum No.135; Friederichs-Wolters, Gipsabgüsse, No. 149; Reinach, op.cit. I, p.396, No. 1; Hulot and Fougères, op.cit., p.286; von Mach, op.cit. pp.47 ff., Pl.47, fig. 1. 64) Penndorf, op.cit., Pl.45, No.2; Perrot and Chipiez, op.cit., VIII, p.488; Smith, op.cit., No.136; Friederichs-Wolters, op.cit., No.150; Reinach, op.cit. I, p.396, fig.2; Hulot and Fougères, op.cit., p.287; von Mach, op.cit., p.47 ff., Pl. 47, fig. 2. 65) Penndorf, op.cit., p.47, no.3; Perrot and Chipiez, op.cit. VIII p.485; Smith, op.cit., No.137; Friederichs-Wolters, op.cit., No.151; Hulot and Fougères, op.cit., p.288; von Mach, op.cit., pp.47 ff., Pl.48, fig.1. 66) P.C.H., 20, 1896, pp.667-673; Fouilles de Delphes IV, pp.36-38. Pomtow, F.P.W., 29, 1909, pp.352, 381, dates them 580-570 B.C. on ground that the treasury was a dedication by Cleisthenes. L. Curtius in F.P.W., 25, 1905, p.1666 thinks they could not be before 550 B.C.

is also confirmed by a comparison of style and types found in nearly contemporary sculptures from the Acropolis, the bas-reliefs from Assos and vase paintings.⁶⁷

Whether these sculptures can be attributed to the Sicyonian school as some would is very doubtful. The inscriptions on them are in Delphian characters and consequently do not help us any. Certainly the legends depicted in the scenes are not Sicyonian but rather Laconian.

Though we know that Sicyon had an important school of sculpture as early as any in Greece and which continued until late into the third century still we do not know enough about the style of these early artists to say with any certainty what their style really was. The architectural evidence dating the treasury at the end of the fifth century seems to be convincing. This fact combined with the history of the Syracusan treasury and the fact that the sculptures in question date from the sixth century offer too many objections against maintaining that they are works from the hands of Sicyonian sculptors.

67) cf. Homolle, P.C.H., 20, 1896, pp.673-4; Fouilles de Delphes, IV, pp.38-9.

CHAPTER X.

The Cults of Sicyon.

From the description of Pausanias and other literary notices, from coins and works of art we have abundant evidence that many deities and heroes were worshipped in Sicyon.¹

Zeus.

Zeus, the supreme deity of the ancient Greeks of historical times, was worshipped in Sicyon in various aspects recognized in the cult-epithets Olympian, Soter, Neilichios, and Stoichaïos. Olympian Zeus, who received his title primarily from the Thessalian Mount Olympus, had a temple outside the city walls.² Plutarch³ informs us that the festival with which the Sicyonians honored the memory of Aratus was inaugurated by the priest of Zeus Soter, whom we have reason to believe was the god they invoked as the helper of men in every kind of danger.⁴ Zeus Neilichios had an image in the new agora.⁵ That his cult was of very ancient existence in Sicyon is proved by the aniconic statue of the god in the form of a pyramid. To judge by the traces of his worship in other places he was the god to whom supplication was made for the sin of kindred or even civic slaughter.⁶ The conception of Zeus as the 'arranger,' not only in a military but also a civic and political sense, is probably implied in the title Stoichaïos.⁷ The only direct trace of the worship of Zeus that has survived is a coin from the time of Caracalla representing the god nude, holding a scepter in his left hand, and a thunderbolt in his right,⁸ and

1) The cults of Sicyon have been the subject of a special monograph by Per Odelberg in his *Sacra Corinthia, Sicyonia, Phliasia* (Upsala, 1896). Yet I include a chapter here to make my own work complete and because the worship of the historical characters, except Aratus, are omitted in his study. 2) Paus. II, 7, 3. 3) Aratus, 53. 4) Odelberg, p. 5. cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, pp. 60-61. 5) Paus. II, 9, 6. cf. Cook, *Zeus*, p. 520, n. 2. 6) Farnell, I, pp. 64 ff. 7) Eekker, *Anec. gr.* II, 790, 30. Cf. Odelberg, p. 6. For the existence of his cult elsewhere see Cook, *Zeus*, p. 143. 8) Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *J.H.S.* VI, 1885, p. 78 with Pl. H X.

may be an imitation of the bronze statue of the god by Lysippus which stood in the open agora.⁹

Hera.

Three temples dedicated to Hera were observed by Pausanias in Sicyon. One was said to have been founded by Adrastus on the old acropolis,¹⁰ another in the old agora, a dedication to Hera Prodromia was reputed to have been founded by Phalces, son of Temenus, because she guided him on the way to Sicyon.¹¹

Thus these two cults can be traced to the ancient and prominent Hera cult at Argos. Between the town and harbor Pausanias saw a Hera temple without roof or statue.¹² A scholiast on Findar¹³ informs us that Adrastus founded a temple to Hera Alexandros because she saved him when an exile from his own country, and after the death of Polybus she helped him get the kingship of Sicyon. It is noticeable that there was no connection between Hera and Zeus in Sicyon. Her function seems to have been rather that of a war-like goddess, a battle-goddess in the case of Hera Prodromia, while Hera Alexandros probably expresses the conception of her as the 'savior of men.'¹⁴

Apollo.

To the worship of Apollo no less than four temples were dedicated in Sicyon. His temple in the new agora is repeatedly mentioned¹⁵ and his cult there must have been an important one. Hesychius¹⁶ refers to a hill of the archer Apollo in the city, and this statement, combined with the passage in Pausanias regarding the flight of Artemis and Apollo to Aegialea¹⁷ after slay-

9) Paus. II, 9,6. cf. pp.18-19. 10) Paus. II, 11,1. 11) *ibid.*, II, 11,2.
12) *ibid.*, II, 12,2. 13) *Nem.* IX, 30. 14) Odelberg, p.12; Farnell, I, p.197.
15) Pseudo-Aristot. *De mirab. ausc.* LIX; *Ampel. lib. mem.* 8; Polyb. XVII (XVIII), 16; Livy, XXXII, 40; Paus. II, 7,7 ff. 16) s.v. τοῦτον θεοῦς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνος τὸ ἐν Σικωνίᾳ.
17) Paus. II, 7,7. Staes (*Ἄρχ. Δελτ.* Nov. 1889, pp.240 f.) conjectures that the Aegialea to which Apollo and Artemis fled was the island of that name midway between Crete and Cythera.

ing the dragon, Python, and the purificatory rites for the removal of the taint of blood-guiltiness points to the conclusion that Sicyon had a local legend of the slaying of the Python celebrated with a festival in which seven boys and seven maidens went as suppliants to the river Sythas and back.¹⁸ But with the growing importance of Delphi the myth must have waned into insignificance. Odelberg¹⁹ contends that Artemis at first had no connection with the expiatory rites of Apollo at this temple and that it was only after the deities had become more closely associated in other places and the belief in their twinship had spread that part of the rites were transferred to Artemis and the myth about Aegialeia as the place of terror developed. Still it seems that the myth need not have been of a very late date for the antiquity of the close association of the two deities is attested by the legends which connect their birth with Delos whence the belief in their twinship probably spread, and because Artemis, probably as the sister of Apollo, was invoked at a very early date in ceremonies of purification performed in Lesbos.²⁰ Moreover, the antiquity of their joint worship in Sicyon itself is vouched for by their temple on the old acropolis, a cult which Farnell²¹ assigns to the Homeric age. As regards the expiatory festival the conjecture is not without some merit that it was held in connection with the celebration of the Pythian games in Sicyon. Apollo Ἀρκείος had a temple in the new agora.²² Pausanias' story regarding this divinity points to some kind of sacrifice once offered to the wolves at Sicyon and confirms the explanation of his title as Wolfish Apollo.²³ To Carnean Apollo was dedicated the inner chamber of a double temple in the new agora within

18) Müller, *Derians* I, p.346; Th. Schreiber, *Apollon Pythoktonos* (Leipzig, 1879) p.43 f. On the ceremony at Delphi cf. Frazer, *Faus.* III, p.53 f. The numerous coins of Sicyon representing probably a suppliant boy commemorate this festival. cf. p.17. 19) *op.cit.* pp.38 ff. 20) Farnell, II, pp.465,467. 21) II, p.465. 22) *Faus.* II, 9,7. 23) Farnell, IV, p.115.

the enclosure to Asclepius,²⁴ while another temple to him, in ruins in Pausanias' time, stood on the site of the old agora.²⁵ Apollo Carneus seems to have been held in special esteem in Sicyon. The native poetess Praxilla says of him that he was the son of Europa and was brought up by Apollo and Latona,²⁶ while according to Castor,²⁷ Peuxippus was the last king of Sicyon and after him the government was carried on by the priests of the Carnean Apollo. Coins of the city often represent Apollo. Before 400 B.C. he is represented kneeling on one knee, with bow and arrows.²⁸ From 400 to 300 B.C. the British Museum Catalogue enumerates representations of the head of Apollo, Apollo shooting with the bow,²⁹ and Apollo seated on a rock holding a lyre in the left hand.³⁰ The head of Apollo occurs again from 370 to 146 B.C.³¹ On Imperial coins of Domna, Plautilla and Caracalla we have Apollo in citharoedic dress, holding a lyre.³²

Artemis.

The most prominent of the female divinities was Artemis, whose connection with Apollo in two temples has already been mentioned. The cult-title *Αἰφυνάϊα* given to the Artemis whose temple stood in the street to the new agora³³ was apparently derived from associating the goddess with a lake or swamp, and appears to have been a very primitive cult dating back to the savage state of society when men supported themselves by hunting and fishing, rather than by agriculture.³⁴ Phraean Artemis, whose sanctuary had a wooden image brought from Iherae in Thessaly and whose figure appears on Imperial coins clad in lozenge chiton and mantle with torches as a specially prominent symbol,³⁵ is probably not the Greek Artemis pure and simple, but Artemis combined with the

24) Paus. II, 10,2. 25) *ibid.* II, 11,2. 26) *ibid.* III, 13,5. 27) Euseb., Chron. Vol.I, p.174 (ed.Schoene). cf. pp.41 ff. 28) Head, Hist. Num.² pp.409 f. cf. Catal. of Gr. Coins, Fr. Mus. Pelop., p.42 no.77. 29) p.41 nos.63 f. cf.no.62 30) p.43 no.83. cf. nos.84 and 85. 31) p.49 nos.162 f. and p.54 No.227. 32) Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.78. 33) Paus. II, 7,6. 34) Odelberg, p.50; Farnell, II, p.427 f. 35) Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.79 with Pl. H XVII, XVIII. On a unique dedication to Artemis see the publication of the fourth century B.C. stater from Sicyon cf. Hill, J.H.S. 18, 1898, pp.302 f.

later goddess Hecate and seems to have had a certain chthonian character.³⁶ Of foreign importation was also the cult of Artemis Munychia³⁷ which evidently came from Attica where she had this epithet and from whence it spread to other places.³⁸ In the agora stood an image of Artemis called by the unusual title, Paternal,³⁹ found only in Sicyon. Farnell⁴⁰ says of it, "The Sicyon cult must have been ancient, as the image of Artemis was aniconic; but we know nothing about its institution, and we cannot explain the origin of this strange title of hers, which does not accord with her character in the popular belief, unless we suppose it came to her from her association with Apollo Patrous, whose cult she seems to have shared at Athens."⁴¹ She must then be considered as a political divinity, the ancestral divinity of the tribes.⁴² Three other statues in the city in Pausanias' time attest to the esteem in which she was held. On one side of the entrance to the temple of Asclepius stood her statue opposite that of Pan⁴³ with whom she is associated in but a few places.⁴⁴ A xoanon of white marble carved only to the waist stood in the new agora,⁴⁵ and in the same vicinity could be seen her gilded statue next to the Zeus by Lysippus.⁴⁶ Finally we may note that with their mother Leto, she shared with Apollo the honors at the local Pythian games,⁴⁷ and her statue was one of those wrought by Dipoenus and Scyllis.⁴⁸

Athena.

On the old acropolis was a temple of Athena which by Pausanias' time had been burned so only the altar was left.⁴⁹ Pliny⁵⁰ tells us the story of how the people contracted with Dipoenus and Scyllis for her statue among those

36) Farnell, II, pp.469,475. cf. Odelberg, p.51 f. 37) Clem. Alex. Protr. p.42 (ed.Potter). 38) Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth. I⁴, p.312, n.2 but read Placiae for Phokia (so Odelberg, p.53 n.3). 39) Paus. II, 9,6. 40) II, p.464. 41) See the sources in Farnell, IV, p.373 n.54. 42) cf. Odelberg, p.51; Farnell on Apollo Patrous, IV, pp.153 ff. 43) Paus. II, 10,2. 44) C.I.G. 1444; Paus. III, 24,8; II, 27,5; VIII, 9,1. 45) Paus. II, 10,7. 46) ibid. II, 9,6. 47) Pindar Nem. IX, 4 f. 48) Pliny, N.H. 36,10. 49) Paus. II, 11,1. cf. II, 5,6; II, 6,3; Hyg. Fab. 88. 50) N.H. 36, 9 and 10.

of Apollo, Artemis and Heracles. Athenaeus⁵¹ informs us there was a temple there to Athena Colocasia which is probably to be identified with the one mentioned by Pausanias. From Athenaeus' statement scholars⁵² who derive the name Sicyon from σίκυος, a cucumber, and who equate Colocasia with κολοκύνθη a gourd which grew there,⁵³ have formulated the theory that Athena was the tutelary 'cucumber-goddess' of the city. But Trisclon-Dyer,⁵⁴ in an article on the ancient plant-name Colocasia, points out that Athena was the traditional protectress of the olive, a very important product in Sicyon, rather than of cucumbers. Pausanias⁵⁵ tells us that her temple at Sicyon was built by Epopeus who, on its completion, prayed for some sign of approval, and after the prayer olive-oil was said to have flowed in front of the temple. That Athena was not pre-eminently the city-goddess⁵⁶ we may probably draw from Pliny's statement about her image by Dipoenus and Scyllis that it was burned while nowhere do we read of it being replaced. Her title Colocasia, as the author of the above-named article maintains, was quite certainly derived from the Egyptian plant of that name which was probably brought to Sicyon by Alexandrian Greeks as a sacred plant and established near her temple. A Sicyonian coin dating from the reign of Caracalla depicts Athena standing, holding a shield and buckler.⁵⁷

Aphrodite.

The widely diffused worship of Aphrodite in the Mediterranean lands would naturally be found in Sicyon. Pausanias⁵⁸ gives us a good description of her cult image and ritual in the following words: "Beyond (i.e. the image of Antiope) is the sanctuary of Aphrodite. A female sacristan, who is henceforward

51) III, 72 b. 52) e.g. Hehn, Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere,⁶ p.307. 53) cf. p.29. 54) Jour. of Phil. 34, 1918, pp.299 f. 55) II, 6,3. 56) Odelberg's conjecture (p.31) that she was known as Athena πολιάς or πολιοειδής as in other places cited by Preller-Robert (op.cit. p.219, n.3) is not accepted by Hitzig-Flümmner, Paus. I, 2, p.537. 57) Mionnet, Suppl. IV, p.170 No.1130. 58) II, 10, 4 ff. (tr. Frazer).

forbidden to have intercourse with the other sex, and a virgin, who holds the priesthood for a year and goes by the name of the Path-bearer, enter into the sanctuary: everyone else, without distinction, may only see the goddess from the entrance, and pray to her from there. The image was made in a sitting attitude by Canachus, the Sicyonian, who also wrought the Apollo at Didymia, in the land of Miletus, and the Ismenian Apollo for the Thebans. It is made of gold and ivory: on her head the goddess carries a firmament (polos), in one hand a poppy, and in the other an apple. They sacrifice the thighs of victims, save those of swine; the other parts of the animal they burn with juniper wood."

Farnell⁵⁹ shows that Aphrodite was originally an Oriental divinity, and that after her adoption in Greece she retained in many local worships the traits of her Oriental character. Especially in Sicyon are the artistic type of her statue, the symbols attached to it, and the animals consecrated to her clear tokens that she was Aphrodite Urania, the goddess derived from the East, the divinity of vegetation, of fruits and of flowers. In view of the perplexity there has existed⁶⁰ in giving a name to this goddess I quote what a competent scholar⁶¹ says of her: "We may give this name (Urania) to the seated figure, the most striking representation of her in the archaic period, which Canachus carved of gold and ivory for that temple in Sicyon which only the priestess and her attendant maiden were allowed to enter. The ritual in one detail at least points to the East; the pig was a sacred animal in the Sicyonic cult, too sacred to be offered; and we are reminded of the Semitic goddess by the symbols which Canachus attached to his temple-image. The 'polos' on her head was the badge of the 'queen of the heavens'; the apple in her hand referred to the processes of

59) II, pp.618 ff. 60) e.g. Fernoulli, *Aphrodite*, p.61. cf. Odelberg, pp.68 f. Roscher, *Lex. J.*, p.399 and Baumeister, *Denkm. I.*, p.88 call her Urania.
61) Farnell, II, pp.679-680.

life, the power of fertility in the world of plants and animals that was her prerogative; the poppy in her other hand may have been a symbol of Ἀφροδίτη Μορφαγόρις the goddess who lulls the senses and gives sweet sleep, and may be supposed to convey also an allusion to the lower world, in which as we have seen both the Eastern and Hellenic goddess had her part." The dove, a common figure on the coins of Sicyon, may well be the emblem taken from the monuments of the Eastern goddess Ishtar.⁶² No monumental remains survive of this famous cult-image. The Aphrodite standing in the attitude of the Medicean Venus with an Eros on a basis beside her, holding a torch as depicted on a coin of Caracalla's time, as well as the one with a dolphin beside her dating from the reign of Domna⁶³ were probably not inspired by any religious monument. Information is lacking to judge the character of a large bronze relief of a head of Aphrodite found at Sicyon which has come into the possession of the Louvre.⁶⁴

Demeter and Persephone.

The antiquity of the worship of Demeter in Sicyon is evident from its ancient name Mecone, poppy-town, an appellation said to have been attached to it because Demeter there first found the poppy.⁶⁵ Pausanias⁶⁶ informs us that she had a sanctuary on the declivity of the old acropolis into the plain and tells the legend that Plemneus had erected it as a thankoffering because the goddess, disguised as a stranger woman, had nursed his son Orthopolis. This sanctuary and goddess is probably to be identified with the Demeter Epomis mentioned by Hesychius⁶⁷ as is done by most scholars.⁶⁸ Many explanations have been given for the epithet but I do not think any better has been given than by

62) cf. p.36. 63) Imhoof-Flumer and Gardner, J.W.S. VI, 1885, p.79 with Pl. H XV and XVI. 64) De Ridder, Musée du Louvre, Les Bronzes Antiques, (1913) n.131. 65) Etym. 583,56. For other references to this name see p.39, n.4. 66) II, 11,2. cf. II, 5,8. Odelberg, p.87 and Kern in Pauly-Wissowa IV, p.2728 recall the parallel case of the Eleusinian Demophon. 67) s.v. Ἐπώμις 68) Curtius, Pelop. II, pp.496, 585; Forsian, Geog. II, p.30, n.1; Floch, Roscher, Lex. II, p. 1294; Freller-Robert, op.cit. p.750, n.3.

Curtius⁶⁹ and Robert⁷⁰ that the title was applied to her because her temple stood like a watcher on the edge of the acropolis overlooking the plain below. Ten stadia from Sicyon toward Phlius, in a grove called Πυρραία was a temple of Demeter Περσετασία and Persephone, in which the men held a feast, but another sacred building, the Nymphon, was given up to the exclusive festival of the women, and there stood in it statues of Demeter, Persephone and Dionysus, all of which were muffled except their faces.⁷¹ Πυρραία is perhaps the name of the wheat-goddess, and the epithet Περσετασία may designate the goddess who stands before the granary or corn-field protecting it from harm. The ritual which Pausanias describes as taking place at this feast is generally believed to have been a local form of the old and widespread Demeter-feast of the Thesmophoria, though of this there is no absolute certainty for we do not know what it was that the women acted on their night of meeting.⁷² A Sicyonian coin from the time of Septimius Severus representing Demeter sitting on a throne with a polos on her head and holding ears of corn in each hand⁷³ may possibly be derived from some unknown cult-image in the city.

Hermes.

In the new agora stood an image of Hermes Ἀγοραῖος⁷⁴ whose nearness to the statue of Heracles indicates that here as in many other places⁷⁵ these divinities were conceived of as being related. Hesychius (s.v.) informs us that there was a Hermes Ἐπελάτιος in Sicyon, an epithet which he has nowhere else. As Hermes Ἀγοραῖος was the god of the political cult of the market so Hermes Ἐπελάτιος might be the tutelary god of merchants who sought their livelihood on the sea. In this sense only can he be called a sea-

69) op.cit. II, p.496. 70) op.cit. p. 117, n.2. 71) Paus. II, 11,3.
 72) cf. Farnell, III, p.100. 73) Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, J.N.S. VI, 1885, p.80 with Pl. H XX. 74) Paus. II, 9,8. 75) Preller-Robert, op.cit. p.415,n.4.

god.⁷⁶ The pastoral conception of Hermes is found in a bronze statuette from Sicyon⁷⁷ of Hermes Ἑρμῆς Φόρος, a variation of the type originated by Onatas of Megina which represented the god carrying a ram under his arm.⁷⁸ An interesting Roman Imperial coin of Sicyon from the time of Julia Domna, has also been found⁷⁹ representing the Ram-bearing Hermes in the type of the statue wrought by Calamis at Tanagra, namely with the ram resting on the god's shoulders, the forefeet being grasped in one hand, the hind-feet in the other. But the identity of the figure on either side of the god is still an unsolved problem.

Poseidon.

The cult of Poseidon was not as strong at Sicyon as it was at the Isthmus. In the agora near the shrine of Aratus was an altar to the sea-god,⁸⁰ and near the harbor town was a temple to the same divinity.⁸¹

Dionysus.

Aside from the statue in the Nymphen already mentioned (Paus. II, 11,3) Dionysus had a temple near the theater and in it a chryselephantine statue of the god and beside him female Bacchantes in white marble.⁸² In the Cosmeterion were other images of the god which were kept secret except when they were brought out one night every year and conveyed from there to his sanctuary escorted with lighted torches and the music of native hymns. The image of Dionysus βακχελος led the way and was followed by Dionysus Λύσιος; the first was connected by tradition with the neighboring town of Phlius, the other with Thebes, from whence, as Pausanias says, it was brought by Phanes about the time of the Dorian invasion at the bidding of the Pythian priestess. The two appellatives attached to two distinct images suggest a double cult, βακχελος who sends the sacred

76) So Odelberg, p.73. 77) Wischer, Kl. Schr. II, pp.307-310. Pl. XVII, 3; Reinach, Rep. III, p.553,4. 78) Paus. V, 27,8. 79) Svoronos, Jour. I. d' Arch. Numism., 16, 1914, pp.76 ff. and fig.2. 80) Paus. II, 9,6. 81) Ibid., II,12,2. 82) ibid. II, 7,5 ff. cf. p.15.

frenzy, and *Αἰσίων*, the god who purges away the madness that the first has sent. The conception of Dionysus as the source of life in nature and who, in some local worships, had titles significant of generation may also be the function we can recognize in the epithet *Χοιροψάλας* which is applied to Dionysus in Sicyon in a statement of rather doubtful value by Clement of Alexandria.⁸³ What purports to be the story of the establishment of the worship of Dionysus in Sicyon by Cleisthenes who assigned to him the tragic dances taken from the hated hero Adrastus is familiar to everyone from Herodotus⁸⁴ and from Fildes's book "The Origin of Tragedy." An Imperial coin of Sicyon shows Dionysus standing, holding a cantharus and thyrsus, with a panther at his feet.⁸⁵ Likewise one of the Maenads which Pausanias saw is represented on an Imperial coin and probably also in one or two extant statues.⁸⁶ Finally a work of somewhat greater artistic value is the Hellenistic statue of a youthful god, probably Dionysus, which was found in Sicyon during the excavation of the theater.⁸⁷

Asclepius.

A sacred enclosure with its temple and image bear witness to the people's devotion to Asclepius, the consoler and healer of men. The god, according to the Sicyonians,⁸⁸ had been brought from Epidaurus in the form of a serpent, riding in a carriage drawn by mules. The statue of the god by Calamis was of gold and ivory, and represented him in the rather unusual type of a beardless young man⁸⁹ holding in one hand a scepter, and in the other the fruit

83) Frotr. p.33 (ed. Potter) with scholia. cf. Farnell, III, p.127. 84) V, 67.
85) Imhoof-Plumer and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.77 with Pl. H IV and V. 86) ibid.
p.78 with Pl. H VI and VII. cf. p.15. Farnell, V, p.154 thinks that Pausanias' statement (II, 7,5) "they say that these women (Pacchantes) are sacred and rave in honor of Dionysus" refers to a real thiasos of sacred women maintained by the state of Sicyon for this service. I think the statement may be a gloss as Schubart maintained. cf. Hitzig-Flümmner, App. Crit. to Paus. II, 7,5. 87) Earle, A.J.A. V, 1889, pp.292 ff. with Pl. VIII. cf. Chap. VII, p.120. 88) Paus. II, 10, 2 ff. 89) cf. p.21.

of a cultivated pine-tree. A Roman Imperial coin represents him standing with the usual attributes.⁹⁰ As to the introduction of his worship we need not believe that Epidaurus was the metropolis from whence the cult was derived. The cult centres on the Isthmus⁹¹ and at Titane⁹² in Sicyonia were of considerable antiquity and we know his establishment at Titane was independent of Epidaurus so it may well be that the same tribal migration that planted the cult at the Isthmus and at Titane brought it to Sicyon also. As in a few other places⁹³ Asclepius is here connected with Apollo to whom was dedicated the inner chamber of a double temple within the enclosure to Asclepius. In the outer chamber of this double building was an image of Sleep while in the colonnade were images of Dream and of Sleep, surnamed Fountiful, lulling a lion to slumber.⁹⁴ Since Asclepius was wont to manifest himself to his suppliants in a dream while asleep, the connection of the divinities is natural enough. In the sanctuary of Asclepius himself there was on one side of the pronaos a sitting image of Pan, and on the other a standing image of Pan, and on the other a standing image of Artemis. Asclepius with Pan occurs nowhere else. The union of Artemis with Asclepius we find in other places.⁹⁵ Pausanias observed small images (probably dedications) hanging from the roof of the temple while Athenaeus⁹⁶ informs us of one dedication there, a trophy set up by the harp-player, Stratonicus, who inscribed it: "Stratonicus, conqueror of those who played badly on the harp."

There is no mention of Hygieia in the worship of Asclepius at Sicyon. Her ancient and famous cult was at Titane⁹⁷ in Sicyonia but we have, however,

90) Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.79 and Pl. H XIII. cf. J.H.S. VIII, 1887, p.54 and Pl. L III-V (the statue at Epidaurus). 91) cf. I.G.A. 549.

92) Paus. II, 11,6. cf. II, 17,1; VII, 23,8. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, pp.249-250.

93) cf. Thraemer in Roscher, Lex. I, p.624. 94) Paus. II, 10,2 ff. Miss Walton, The Cult of Asklepios, p.99 apparently does not locate these statues right.

95) See note 44. 96) VIII, p.351 e. 97) Paus. II, 11,6. cf. Wroth, J.H.S. V, 1884, p.85.

a Sicyonian coin from the time of Geta⁹⁸ which represents the standing figure of Hygieia and the question is unanswered whether it represents a copy of a statue of Hygieia from the Asclepium in Sicyon which Pausanias does not mention or if it is the imitation of the famous statue at Titane.⁹⁹

Minor Cults.

We find the following minor cults: Leto, the Dioscuri, Isis, Serapis, Helios, Pan, the Asopus, Muses, Eumenides, Fates, and Averting gods. Of Leto I have already spoken. She was invoked with Apollo and Artemis at the celebration of the Pythian games in Sicyon.¹⁰⁰ The Dioscuri had a temple on the new acropolis with cult images of wood.¹⁰¹ They were probably considered among the πολιόθεα divinities of the city.¹⁰² To Isis and Serapis there are no literary references but coins attest to their worship. On a coin from the time of Geta¹⁰³ Isis is represented to the left holding a sistrum and vase. On another from the time of Plautilla¹⁰⁴ Serapis is represented sitting, with Cerberus below at her feet. On the old acropolis was an ancient altar to the Sun. Next to it stood an altar to Pan.¹⁰⁵ The worship of Pan and the Sun probably came from Arcadia where the cult of Pan replaced that of the Sun.¹⁰⁶ The seated statue of Pan in the entrance to the Asclepium has already been mentioned.¹⁰⁷ An image of him, whether inspired by some cult object or not we do not know, appears on a coin from the time of Plautilla¹⁰⁸ where he is represented walking, holding a goblet and goat by the horns. According to Aelian¹⁰⁹ the Asopus was

98) Imhoof-Plumer and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.79 with Pl. H XIV. 99) L. Curtius, Jahrbuch, 19, 1904, p.87, n.87. 100) Pind. Nem. IX, 4 ff. See Apollo. 101) Paus. II, 7,5. cf. p.10. 102) Odelberg, p.134. 103) Imhoof-Plumer and Gardner, J.H.S. VIII, 1897, p.54. 104) Mionnet, Suppl. IV, n.171 No.1137 cf. J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.80. 105) Paus. II, 11,1. On the extensive worship of the sun see Frellet-Robert, op.cit. pp.429 ff. 106) cf. Odelberg pp.106,111 and the references cited. 107) p. 168. 108) Imhoof-Plumer and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.79, Pl. H XII. Gardner (Types of Gr. Coins, Pl. VIII, 20) identifies his head on a fourth century coin below the figure of a Chimaera. Odelberg, p.110, n.1 doubts it. 109) Var. hist. II, 33.

worshipped both at Sicyon and Phlius and he is probably symbolically represented by the butting-bull on Phliasian coins.¹¹⁰ That the three Muses, one of which was called Polymatheia, were worshipped in Sicyon we know from Plutarch.¹¹¹ A sculptured group of the three Muses was made, probably for Sicyon, by the native Sicyonian sculptors Canachus and Aristocles, with Hageladas of Argos.¹¹² The Eumenides had a temple in a grove outside Sicyon on the way to Phlius.¹¹³ Ceremonies were performed once a year at which they sacrificed sheep big with young, poured libations of honey mixed with water, and used flowers instead of wreaths. In the same grove at an altar under the open sky, similar ceremonies were performed to the Fates. On a relief found near Argos the Eumenides are represented as women of mild aspect, carrying serpents in the right hand and a flower in the left.¹¹⁴ In Sicyon they were evidently local forms of the earth goddesses; their oblations were wineless and the sacrificial victims were the natural and customary offerings to Gaia.¹¹⁵ To the Averting gods (Θεοὶ Ἀποτροφικοί) images had been erected near the grove of Epopeus.¹¹⁶ How many they were in number we do not know, but from Pausanias' words that they performed beside their images "ceremonies which the Greeks observe for the purpose of averting evils" one can compare them to τοῖς σωτηρίοις of the Lacedaemonians,¹¹⁷ to whom they sacrificed when the state was in great danger, and whom it was probably customary to invoke in all kinds of danger anywhere among Greeks.¹¹⁸

Six abstract or generalized ideas were worshipped in Sicyon: Tyche, Peitho, Hebe, Sleep, Dream and Pros. Tyche Ἀρπία had a temple with an image of wood on the new acropolis.¹¹⁹ The epithet was probably derived from

110) Catal. of Gr. Coins, Fr. Mus. Pelop. p.33. cf. J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.80; Odelberg, pp. 190-191. 111) Quaest. Conv. IX, 14, 7 p.746 E. 112) Antip. of Sidon, Anth. Pal. XVI, 220. cf. p.33. 113) Paus. II, 11.4. If Statius (Theb. IV, 52) is right they had a temple on the Helisson. Pausan. (Geog. II, p.26 n.1) thinks he confused the Helisson and the Asopus. 114) Ath. Mitt. IV, 1879, p.176 and Pl. IX. cf. Miss Harrison, Prolegomena to Gr. Rel. p.255. 115) Farnell V, p.442. 116) Paus. II, 11. 117) Xen. Hell. III, 3.4. cf. Odelberg, p.169. 118) cf. Plato, Laws p.854 E. 119) Paus. II, 7.5. cf. p.10. Farnell, V, p.447.

the situation of the temple on the higher hill to the south. A coin of the city from the time of Plautilla shows Tyche to the left, turreted, holding patera and cornucopia.¹²⁰ In the new agora was a temple of Persuasion to whose temple was brought, once a year, the images of Apollo and Artemis.¹²¹

According to Strabo¹²² Hebe was worshipped both at Sicyon and Phlius under the title Hebe or Dia. Regarding her worship at Phlius Pausanias¹²³ tells us considerable. The nature of this goddess is variously interpreted. Preller-Robert¹²⁴ consider her as a nature divinity approximating Dionysus or Ariadne. Roscher¹²⁵ suggests that Hebe Dia was on the one hand related to Aphrodite as the daughter of Zeus and Dione; on the other hand she was related to Pandia, daughter of Zeus and Selene. Odelberg¹²⁶ concludes from the 'sacred story' Pausanias refers to at Phlius, and the peculiar introduction of the mention of a Hera temple in the same passage that Hebe was closely connected with Hera as at Mycenae¹²⁷ and Mantinea.¹²⁸ He considers her a goddess of fertility whose original meaning was later forgotten.

A terra-cotta figure found in a tomb at Megara has been supposed to represent Hebe.¹²⁹ The young goddess is clad in a long tunic and a great veil envelops the lower part of her body and is gracefully disposed over her head. All round her head the veil is bordered with ivy leaves. This suggests the Hebe of Phlius since her festival, as Pausanias says, was called Ivy-cutters.

The images of Sleep and Dream have already been referred to in connection with the Asclepium. All that needs to be added is that the epithet Ἐπιδωτή given the image of Sleep probably implied, as in the case of Zeus,¹³⁰

120) Catal of Gr. Coins, Jr. Mus. Pelop., p.56 No.244. 121) Paus. II, 7,7; II, 8,1. 122) VIII, p.382. 123) II, 17,3 ff. 124) op.cit. p.499.
125) Juno u. Hera, pp.25 f. 126) p.124. 127) Paus. II, 17,5. 128) ibid. VIII, 9,3. 129) De Chanot, Gaz. Arch. II, 1876, pp.46-50, Pl. XV, cf. Frazer, Paus. III, p.79. 130) Paus. VIII, 9,2.

that it was conceived of as a divinity that gives freely good gifts to men.

Finally the Eros with a torch represented on a Sicvonian coin¹³¹ may have some religious connection.

Mythical Heroes and Ancestors.

Heracles, Epopeus, Adrastus, Melanippus and the heroine Antiope had their cults. Heracles was held in high esteem for he was honored with statues, a temple and festive days. The earliest recorded monument to him was one by Dipoenus and Scyllis of Crete.¹³² In the market-place stood his bronze statue by Lysippus,¹³³ and in the gymnasium near this market-place was a stone image of him by Scopas¹³⁴ while in the other gymnasium built by Clinias stood a herm-like image of him.¹³⁵ Heracles even had a sanctuary in which was a wooden image of him.¹³⁶ In this sanctuary both the heroic and theistic ritual was accorded him. The change in the form of worship whereby the merely heroic ritual was combined with a form of sacrifice that marked him as a god was associated with the arrival and influence of Phaestus. His festive days were called Heraclea and Onomata, the latter probably consisting in proclaiming aloud the heroic name before the sacrifices.¹³⁷ The victim which was laid on the altar and offered him as a god was eaten by the worshippers, but that offered him as a hero was left untouched, thus offering, Farnell¹³⁸ says, a striking example of a very general rule among the Greeks that food offered a dead ancestor was tabooed against the use of the living. Heracles appears on a coin of Geta¹³⁹ now in the British Museum, standing holding a club in his right hand, with the lion's skin thrown over his left arm.

131) Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.80. 132) Pliny, N.H. 36, 10. cf. pp. 90 ff. 133) Iaus. II, 9,8. 134) ibid. II, 10,1. cf. pp.19-20. 135) ibid. II, 10,7. 136) ibid. II, 10,1. 137) Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, p.372. 138) op.cit. p.354. 139) Catal of Gr. Coins. Fr. Mus. Pelop. p.56, no.247; cf. J.H.S. VI, 1885, p.79 and Pl. H XI.

Epopeus had a sacred barrow erected to him on the old acropolis in front of the altar to Athena.¹⁴⁰ Recent scholars¹⁴¹ have interpreted the name as that of a celestial being of light. Odelberg¹⁴² thinks that in early times he was thought of as the protecting god of Sicyon having the same relation to Athena as Aras had to Demeter in Phlius¹⁴³ or as Tyndareus had with Zeus in Lacedaemon.¹⁴⁴ Cook's¹⁴⁵ reasoning seems convincing from the Sicyonian story of Epopeus and Antiope and the incident recorded by the old epic poet Asios¹⁴⁶ that "The statement that Epopeus, king of Sicyon, and Zeus had the same wife is very noteworthy and when compared with similar cases, points to the belief that the king was an embodiment of Zeus. If so, his name was appropriate. Epopeus, 'He who sees all', is but another form of the cult-titles Epóptes, Epópsios, Epopetés borne by Zeus."

An image of Antiope stood within the enclosure sacred to Aphrodite.¹⁴⁷ Little is told us of her but judging by her kinsmen Epopeus, grandson of Helios, Myceus, Lycus, Orion, Amphion and Zethus, she was probably an astral divinity.¹⁴⁸

The epic hero Adrastus, the nominal leader of two expeditions against Thebes, had a hero-cult in Sicyon,¹⁴⁹ Megara and Colonus.¹⁵⁰ Herodotus' story is well known: how Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, tried to expel the spirit of Adrastus in spite of Delphi, invited from Thebes his worst enemy, Melanippus, who had slain Adrastus' brother and son-in-law in the Theban war, how he finally established the cult of Melanippus in Sicyon probably by burying beside Adrastus the hero's reputed bones brought from Thebes, and how he gave over the tragic choruses which commemorated his sufferings to the god Dionysus, the

140) Paus. II, 11,1. cf. II, 6,3. 141) cf. Wilisch, Roscher, Lex. I, p.1294; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. I, p.130. See also Farnell, Gr. Hero Cults, p.213. 142) pp. 185 f. 143) Paus. II, 12,5. 144) ibid. III, 17,4. 145) Zeus, p.737 and notes. 146) Paus. II, 6,4. 147) Paus. II, 10,4. cf. II, 6,1 ff. 148) cf. Schirmer, Roscher, Lex. I, p.382; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. I, p.938, n.2; Cook, Zeus, p.738; Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, p.213. 149) Herod. V, 67. cf. Ridgeway, The Origin of Tragedy, p.47 passim. 150) Megara: Paus. I, 43,1; Colonus: Paus. I, 30,4. cf. Farnell, Hero Cults, pp.334 ff.

object being to make Sicyon an undesirable habitation for Adrastus.

Cults of Real Persons.

The following persons of historical times were worshipped: Euphron, Demetrius Poliorketes, Aratus, Antigonus Doson, Attalus I, and the Roman Emperors. The elder Euphron, who was assassinated at Thebes, was buried in the agora of Sicyon, contrary to custom, and worshipped as 'Founder' of the state.¹⁵¹

Diodorus¹⁵² tells us that the Sicyonians, out of gratefulness to Demetrius because he moved the site of the city, helped them to build and restored their freedom, they bestowed on him divine honors for his benefit. They named the city Demetrias, and voted to perform sacrifices and hold a festival and games every year and to assign him all the other honors as their 'Founder'. The resolutions had fallen into disuse by the time of Diodorus.

When Aratus, the statesman and general of the Achaean League, died at Aegium the Sicyonians, moved by gratitude and admiration, were anxious to inter him within the city. Having obtained for this purpose an oracle from Delphi, for it was contrary to the ancient law to bury within the city, they secured his remains from Aegium and buried him in a conspicuous spot in the city and honored him as 'Founder and Savior.' Two annual sacrifices were offered to him; one was offered on the anniversary of the day on which he freed the city, being the fifth day of the month Daisius, which the Athenians call Anthesterion;¹⁵³ the other was offered on his birthday. The former sacrifice was begun by the priest of Zeus Soter; the latter by the priest of Aratus, who wore a white headband with a purple stripe. Dionysiac artists accompanied the sacrifices with hymns and the music of the lyre;¹⁵⁴ the master of the gym-

151) Xen. Hell. VII, 3,12. 152) XX, 102. cf. p. 78. 153) Cf. p.82, n.31.
154) Dionysiac artists at Sicyon see p.87.

nasium led a procession of boys and youths; and the senators followed wearing wreaths. Most of these rites had fallen into disuse when Plutarch¹⁵⁵ wrote. Pausanias,¹⁵⁶ who mentions the shrine of Aratus and his statue in the theater, says nothing about the sacrifices.

In honor of Antigonus Doson, who had been a benefactor of the Achaeans, we read of Antigoneia being held at various times and places.¹⁵⁷ Plutarch¹⁵⁸ and Polybius¹⁵⁹ inform us that the festival was also held in Sicyon.

King Attalus I was held in extraordinary honor for his benefits to the Sicyonians. When in 138 B.C. he bestowed on them a sum of money and a quantity of grain they passed a law to offer sacrifice to him every year.¹⁶⁰

Finally, we have the notice in Pausanias¹⁶¹ that in the marketplace was a precinct sacred to the Roman Emperors.

155) Aratus 53. 156) II, 8,1; II, 7,5. 157) Polyb. II, 70; V, 9; XXVIII, 19,7. 158) Aratus, 45; Cleom. 16.. 159) XXX, 23,3. cf. Tarn, Antigonus Gonatas, p.435, n.9. 160) Polyb. XVII (XVIII), 16. 161) II, 8,1.

CHAPTER XI.

The Civilization of Sicyon.

From the preceding chapters we have gained some notion of the predominant features of the civilization of ancient Sicyon. To any commanding position in the political history of Greece it never attained except during the brilliant period of the sixth century tyrant, Cleisthenes, and in later times during its adhesion to the Achaean League under the leadership of Aratus. Its constitutional history was thought worthy of a treatise by Aristotle¹ but this is lost and we have only incomplete knowledge of its government and political institutions.² Following the one hundred years' duration of the early tyranny came a reversion to oligarchy which was probably of a moderate kind for it was not till 418 B.C. that Sparta limited the number of qualified citizens. Whether this change was permanent or not we do not know but the government seems to have been dependent on foreign support at least at the time of its overthrow by the tyrant Euphron in 369 B.C., an event which is coincident with the decline of Spartan power in the Peloponnese. During the short interval from the despotic career of Euphron till the Macedonian supremacy a popular form of government seems to have prevailed; then a succession of tyrants of a dependent type sprang up, and the city only regained a constitution by the partial surrender of its autonomy when Aratus joined it to the Achaean League.³

But when we turn from the annals of political history to those

1) Pollux, IX, 77. 2) Cf. Greenidge, Handbook of Gr. Const. Hist. pp.72-73.
3) Coins of the period from 251 to 146 B.C. preserve the names of many local magistrates. See Prosopographia Nos. 13, 22, 28, 33, 40, 147, 172, 187, 235, 239, 268, 294, 338, 342, 345, 348.

of art we read a more impressive story. Its renown in this activity is celebrated by ancient authors, and is attested by the great list of works wrought by more than a score each of native sculptors and painters, and by specimens of their work still extant in some form or other from many places in the ancient world.⁴ The principles of sculpture and painting were taught here by a succession of masters and expounded in manuals and handbooks as witnessed by the writings of Polyclitus⁵ and Xenocrates⁶ on sculpture, and of Pamphilus,⁷ Melanithus⁸ and the same Xenocrates⁹ on painting.

In the history of the development of Greek tragedy Sicyon also engages our attention. Herodotus¹⁰ tells in a well-known passage how the Sicyonians were wont to celebrate with tragic choruses the sorrows of Adrastus, their former king, and how their tyrant Cleisthenes, in anger at Adrastus, took away the choruses and assigned them to Dionysus. The other features of the rites he gave to Adrastus' mortal enemy, Melanippus, whose bones were brought from Thebes and buried in the city. The tragic poet Epigenes was active there probably at the time when Cleisthenes transferred the dances from Adrastus to Dionysus and it may well be that Cleisthenes was the one who established the goat prize and that Epigenes was

4) The list of the art objects actually found at Sicyon itself, however, is not very large. I have noticed publications of the following: 1. A small original Greek bronze statuette now in Athens, presumably from Sicyon, and a close analogy to the Roman copy of the Pythocles of Polyclitus, Furtwängler, *Masterp.* p. 265 n. 3; Brunn-Pueckmann, *Denkm.* No. 280 a. 2. A Hellenistic statue of Dionysus now in Athens, Earle, *A.J.A.* V, 1889, pp. 292 ff. Pl. VIII. 3. The lower part of a female figure in marble, l.c. pp. 280-281. 4. Archaic head of a girl, in poros, now in Boston, *A.J.A.* IX, 1909, p. 367. 5. A large bronze relief of a head of Aphrodite, de Ridder, *Musée du Louvre, Les Bronzes Antiques* (1913) p. 131. 6. A bronze statuette of Hermes Criophorus, see p. 184. 7) Overbeck, *S.Q.* 959. 8) Pliny, *N.H.* Index Book 34 and 34, 93. 9) Suidas, s.v. *Πολύκλειτος*. 10) *Diog. Laert.* IV, 12. 11) Pliny, *N.H.* 35, 62. 12) V, 67.

the poet whom he employed to introduce the innovation.¹¹ In this connection may be noticed three other connections with the drama namely that "Thyestes at Sicyon" was the subject of a tragedy by Sophocles¹² and that both Alexis¹³ and Menander¹⁴ wrote a comedy entitled "The Sicyonian."

The Sicyonian contribution to literature was quite considerable. Aside from the authors on art cited above the list¹⁵ includes the works of the comic poets Axiopeistus, Machon and Sophilus, of the tragic poets Epigenes and Neophron, of the lyric poet Aripbron and the poetess Fraxilla, and of the epigrammist Phasalces. There were works on geography by Aristarchus and Heraclitus and on cookery by Tyndarichus. Historical works were produced by Diogenes, Aratus and Menaichmus. The memoirs of Aratus are especially important as the source of Plutarch's biography of Aratus. The historian Menaichmus¹⁶ is of interest to the historian particularly for his work ΣΙΚΙΩΝΙΚΑ which is the only special history of Sicyon of which we have any knowledge from ancient times. It was from this source that Pausanias drew many of the notices we read in his description of Sicyon.¹⁷ Menaichmus may well be the author of the anonymous fragment of two columns from a history of Sicyon found at Oxyrhynchus which deals with the origin and rise of Orthagoras, who was tyrant of Sicyon during part of the first half of the seventh century B.C.,

11) On the mooted question of the origin of tragedy see Ridgeway, The Origin of Tragedy, and Flickinger, The Greek Theater and its Drama, especially pp. 11-15.

12) Cf. Pearson, The Fragments of Sophocles I, pp. 125-127; Post, Harv. Stud. XXXIII, p. 23. 13) Meineke, Poet. Com. Gr. p. 562, fr. CVII.

14) Koch, Fr. Com. Att. III, p. 126. 15) See under the following names in the Prosopographia.

16) Strabo, s.v. ΜΑΝΑΧΜΟΣ. The fragments are in C. Müller, Scriptores rerum Alexandri Magni (Paris 1846) pp. 145 ff.

17) Cf. Vogt, Jahrb. f. cl. Phil. (Fleckeisen), 27, 1892, pp. 752-755 and especially Pfister, Rh. Mus. 69, 1913, pp. 525-537.

and an ancestor of Cleisthenes.¹⁸ He was also the author of a work *περὶ Τεχνιτῶν* (On artists) of which we have a few fragments preserved for the most part in Athenaeus. They deal with music and poetry and contain notices such as that Sappho was the inventor of the *πηκρίς* or *πάγιδος* (XIV, 635 f., e); that Aristonicus of Argos introduced the custom of playing the harp without vocal accompaniment (XIV, 637 f.), that Dion of Chios was the first to play on the harp an ode such as is used at libations in honor of Dionysus (XIV, 638 a); that Homer was the author of the *Ἑπικύκλιδος* (II, 65, a). With this work on music and poetry is connected the notice that there was a list in Sicyon treating of this subject containing a list of poets and musicians chronologically arranged according to the priestesses of Hera at Argos.¹⁹ A third work of his was his *Πυθ. καὶ*, containing a list of Pythian victors, a work which was utilized by Aristotle.²⁰ Finally he is credited by Suidas with the authorship of a history of Alexander the Great.

A love of music, dramatics and athletics is evident from literary notices of Athenaeus on music and from the list of Sicyonians recorded in the prosopographia. Epigonus²¹ and Lysander²² are credited with innovations in the playing of the cithara, and anonymous Sicyonian musicians competed with the great harpist Aristonicus.²³ An inscription from Sicyon bears evidence that they passed a law regulating musical contests²⁴ while other in-

18) Oxyrh. Pap. VI, fr. 1365. Grenfell and Hunt (l.c. and XIII, pp. 110-111) think that the author may be Ephorus or some one who derived his information from Ephorus. Lenchantier de Gubernatis (Poll. di Fil. Class. XXV, 129) contends that the author was Menaeichmus. Cf. Powell and Barber, New Chapters in the Hist. of Gr. Lit., pp. 131, 144. 19) Ps.-Plut. de mus. 3 and 8. The work was used by Heracleides Ponticus. 20) Schol. Pindar, Pyth. IV, 313. 21) Athen. IV, 183 d. 22) *ibid.* XIV, 637 f. 638 a. 23) *ibid.* VIII, 351 e. 24) I.G. IV, 429.

scriptions reveal to us that seventeen Sicyonian players on the flute and cithara often entered contests and won at Argos, Delphi, Athens and Delos. In dramatic activities twenty-five are mentioned as partaking in some function or other most frequently in the Geteria inscriptions from Delphi, while at the great public games at Olympia and Delphi and the minor ones at the Isthmus, at Larisa and Oropus thirteen Sicyonians won the prize in various athletic contests.

ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ VII.

Prosopographia Sicyonia.

1. Ἀβαντίδας Πασέου, tyrant 3rd century B.C., brother of Coso. He assassinated Clinias, the father of Aratus and was himself killed by Deinias and Aristotle, Plut. Arat. II ff.; Paus. II, 9, 2. Cf. pp. 79-80.
2. Ἀγαθίνος Ἀρετοδμήμων[ος], ἱεραψευδὴς at the Soteria at Delphi in 270 B.C., S.G.D.I., 2585, 9. Dated 258 B.C. by Johnson, A.G.P. XXXIX, 1919, p. 171.
3. Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἀρωσίταος, proxenus at Thespieae in Boeotia, I.G. VII, 1724.
4. Ἀγαρίστη, daughter of Cleisthenes, wife of the Alcmaeonid Megacles and mother of the Athenian Cleisthenes, Herod. VI, 126-132; Diod. VIII, 19; Helian, Var. hist., XII, 24; Athen. VI, 273 b, c.; XII, 541 b.; XIV, 628 c, d. Cf. pp. 56 ff.
5. Ἀγασινάτης, son of Nicagora, Paus. II, 10, 3.
6. Ἀγασιμένης, soldier who fought at Megaspotami and had a statue at Delphi, Paus. X, 9, 10.
7. Ἀγιμένης Φιλομυρέου, ἱεραψευδὴς at the Soteria at Delphi, 271 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2564, 57. O'Connor, Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece, No. 10. Dated 259 B.C. by Johnson, A.G.P. XXXIX, 1919, p. 171.
8. Ἀδέας, son of the tyrant Euphron and general of the military force in Sicyon 367 B.C., Xen. Hell. VII, 1, 45. He was father of Euphron the younger, cf. No. 131.
9. Ἀδματός Ἀγισταμένους, proxenus at Delphi 176/5 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2581, 271; Ditt. Syll. II³, 585, 271.
10. Ἀθηναΐδας, captain under Dercylidas the Spartan in the campaign against Pharnabazus in 309 B.C., Xen. Hell. III, 1, 18.
11. Αἰγύλας, money changer, probably a Sicyonian, Plut. Arat. XVIII, 4 f. XII, 2; Polyaeus, VI, 5 calls him Αἰσύλας.

12. Αἰγυινήτης, painter. Brother of Pasiak. Iliry, 38, 143. Cf. p. 137.
13. Αἰεάς, magistrate between 251-146 B.C., Catal. Gr. Coins Fr. Mus. Pelop. p. 55 Nos. 234, 235. Cf. Head, Hist. Num.² p. 411.
14. Αἰνετός. See No. 346.
15. Αἰσχίνος, unknown, Earle, A.J.A. IV, 1895, p. 427; I.G. IV, 425.
Possibly the same as No. 16.
16. Αἰσχίνης, tyrant put down by the Spartans probably in 511/10 B.C., Plut. De Herod. Malig. XXI. Cf. Αἰ[σχί]νῃ, Catal. of Gr. Papyri of the John Rylands Library, p. 31. No. 18. Cf. pp. 58-59.
17. Ἀκρίσιος, general during tyranny of Euphron 367 B.C. Xen. Hell. VII, 1, 45. Cf. I.G. IV, 431.
18. Ἀλέξανδρος, father of Alexander. See No. 13.
19. Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεφ[άν]δρου, a man honored in the first half of the third century B.C. in an Argive decree which confers on him and his descendants citizenship at Argos, votes him to be a *θεωροδόκος* of Zeus at Nemea and of Hera at Argos, and votes him a crown and a statue in the agora. Vollgraff, Nemesyne, 44, 1913, p. 65.
20. Ἀλέξιος, father of the sculptor Cantharus, Paus. VI, 3, 6. Probably to be identified with the one mentioned in Pliny, N.H. 34, 50 but if so Alexis must have been a pupil of the younger Polyclitus.
21. Ἀλεξίων, assassinator of Alexander, son of Polysperchon, Mod. XIX, 67, 1. Date 314 B.C. See p. 76.
22. Ἀλεξίων, magistrate between 251-146 B.C. Gr. Coins Fr. Mus. Pelop. p. 51 Nos. 191, 192, p. 53 No. 215. Cf. Head, Hist. Num.² p. 411.
23. Ἀλεξίων. Ἀλε[ξάνδ]ρου, ποιητῆς προσοδίων at the Soteria at Delphi 270 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2565, 13. Dated 258 B.C. by Graham, A.G.P. xxxix, 1913, p. 171.
24. Ἀλεξιβιάδης. See Μέναιβρος No. 271.
25. Ἀληΐβαλος, I.G. II, 326.

26. Ἀλκισθένης Ἀριστογένοῦ, member of men's chorus at the Soteria at Delphi in 269 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2566, 48; Mitt. ²yll., 681, 48. *Δελφ. Σωτήριον*, *Αἰ. Ρ. ΧΧΧΙΧ, 1918, p. 171.*
27. Ἀλυσος, sculptor and pupil of Naucydes. He was active between 404-364 B.C. He is discussed on p. 173.
28. Ἀρεινίας, magistrate between 251-146 B.C., Gr. Coins Tr. Mus. Pelop. p. 51 no. 193. cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* ² p. 411.
29. Ἀρούνας, father of Agathocles. See no. 3.
30. Ἀναφάνδρα, painter, daughter of Nealces, Clem. Alex., Strom. IV, 124 (p. 620 Potter). Trunn, *Gesch. d. gr. Künstler*, II, p. 291 thinks she is to be identified with the Anaxander mentioned in Pliny, N.H. 35, 146. See p. 137.
31. Ἀνδρέας, father of Orthagoras, the first tyrant of Sicyon. Herod. VI, 126; Diod., Exc. Vat., VIII, 24; Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxy. Pap.* XI, pp. 104 ff. no. 1365. On the early tyrants at Sicyon see p. 46.
32. Ἀνδρεΐα, proxenus at Cleitor, I.G. V, 368, 169.
33. Ἀνδρότιμος, magistrate between 251-146 B.C., Gr. Coins Tr. Mus. Pelop. p. 53 no. 126; p. 54 no. 225; cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* ² p. 411.
34. [Α]τίμαχος, dedicator at Nemea. I.G. IV, 483.
35. Ἀφειόπιστος, writer of early comedy from Iocris or Sicyon, Philochorus in Athen. XIV, 648 d, e.
36. Ἀπολλόδαμος, father of Apollonius. See no. 39.
37. Ἀπολλ[ωνίδας], gravestone in Sicyon. Parle, *Cl. Rev.* VI, 1892, p. 135. He is probably to be identified with no. 38.
38. Ἀπολλωνίδας, a citizen who opposed the acceptance of Eumenes' II gift to the Achaeans in 185 B.C., Polyb. XVII, 11. He was later sent as ambassador of the Achaeans to Caecilius Metellus, Polyb. XVII, 15, 6 ff. In 169 B.C. he opposed rash declarations in favor of Rome. Polyb. XXVIII, 6, 6.

39. Ἀπαλλωμένος Ἀπολλοδώρου, contestant in music at Argos in second or first century B.C., Vollgraff, *Enemosyne*, 47, 1919, n.253 line 17.
40. Ἀπολλωμένος, magistrate. *Gr. Coins Fr. Mus. Palog.* p.55. no. 236.
41. Ἀράτος Ἀλείνιδου, statesman, politician, and general of the Achaean League. He was born 271/0 B.C., liberated Sicyon from local tyrants and joined it to the Achaean League in 251 B.C., and from then on till his death at Aegium in 214/13 B.C. he was general of the League 17 times. Cf. *Plut. Aratus*; *Polyb. II and IV passim*; *Faus. II, 8 and 9*. For the fragments of his Memoirs see *Wüller, F.H.G. III*, pp.21 ff. Statues were erected to him in Sicyon, *Faus. II, 7, 5*; at Olympia, *ibid. VI, 12, 5*; at Corinth, *Polyb. XXII, 14, 10*; at Troezen, *I.G. IV, 788*; *Pitt. Syll. I³, 469*. The best modern account of him is by Freeman, *Hist. of Fed. Govt. in Greece and Italy* (2nd. ed.), pp.279 ff.
42. Ἀράτος Ἀράτου, sent as ambassador and then as hostage to Antigonos Doson after the battle of Lyme (226 B.C.), *Polyb. II, 51, 5*; *Plut. Arat. XLII, 2, 3*. He was general of the Achaean League in 219/18 B.C., *Polyb. IV, 37, 1, 70, 2, 72, 7*. He abandoned the general ship in 218 B.C., *Polyb. V, 1, 1*. With his father he was at Messene in 214, when he reproached Philip, *Plut. Arat. I, 1 ff.*; *Polyb. VII, 11, 9*. His wife Polycrateia (cf. s.v.) was corrupted by Philip and Aratus himself was poisoned by him. *Plut. Arat. LIV*.
43. Ἀράτος Ἀράτου, He is probably a son of the former and was sent as ambassador to Egypt in 181 B.C., *Polyb. XXIV, 6, 3*, and to Rome in 179 B.C., *ibid. XXIV, 10, 8*. cf. *Wiese in Pauly-Wissowa II, n.391*. In Aratus is mentioned as *Θεωροδόχος* on an inscription from Delphi. cf. *P.O.E. 45, 1921, p.11 line 34*.
44. Ἀρίσταρχος, is cited in the index to authors quoted in Pliny, *N.H. Book V*. He was probably a writer on geography.

45. Ἀριστεύς Ἀριστίου, victor in the chorus of boys at the Soteria at Delphi c. 225 B.C., Mitt. Syll. I³, 508, 10. *Dated 225 B.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. XL, 1919, pp. 24-25.*
46. Ἀριστεύς, father of Aristetas, no. 45.
47. Ἀριστογένης Εὐφράνορος, was in the boys' chorus at the Soteria in Delphi 269 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2566, 25. Ditt. Syll.², 691, 25 has Ἀριστογένης Ἡράνορος. *Dated 257 B.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. XXXIX, 1918, p. 171.*
48. Ἀριστογένης, see Ἀκισθένης no. 26.
49. Ἀριστοδάμνα, mother of Aratus. Paus. II, 10,3; IV, 14,7.
50. Ἀριστόδημος, father of Ῥόδιον. See no. 278.
51. [Ἀρ]ιστόδημος Εὐτέλου, κισαρῆδος at the Soteria at Delphi in 271 B.C., S.G.D. I. 2564, 13. *Dated 259 B.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. XXXIX, 1918, p. 171.*
52. Ἀριστοκλῆς, sculptor who made the Muse with the lyre in a group of the three Muses together with Canachus and Hageladas. Antip. of Sidon. Anth. Pal. XVI, 220. According to the artistic genealogy given by Pausanias (VI, 3,11; 9, 1-3) he was at the head of a school of sculptors which flourished for seven generations, the last member of which was Pantias, son of Sostratus. Since Sostratus (Polyb. IV, 78,5; cf. Paus. VIII, 26,7) was active with Hypatodorus who flourished c. 328 B.C., (Fruhn, Gesch. d. gr. Künstler I, p. 294; Loewy, I.G.F. p. 80, no. 101) Aristocles' activity must go back to the first half of the sixth century if the genealogy of Pausanias is chronologically dependable. cf. Robert in Pauly-Wissowa, II, p. 937 and Hitzig-Flümmner, Paus. II, pp. 544, 606. According to Pausanias (VI, 9,1) Aristocles was a brother of Canachus whose statue of Apollo at Didyma must have been made before 493 B.C. (see p. 94 n. 30). Consequently we would have an Aristocles in the first half of the sixth century and another, probably his son, who was active with Canachus and Hageladas.
53. Ἀριστοκλῆς. On an inscription found in Sicyon, Parle, A.J.A. IV, 1888, p. 427; I.G. IV, 425.

54. Ἀριστοκράτης, see Ἰππων No. 152.
55. Ἀριστοκράτης, see Ἀρεδαίμωας No. 68.
56. Ἀριστοάλαος, painter, a son and pupil of Fausias, Fliny, N.H. XXXV, 137.
He flourished from about 360 to 320 B.C. His work is discussed on pp.132-133.
57. Ἀρίστομάχως. On an inscription found in Sicyon, I.G. IV, 431.
58. Ἀρίστομάχως, an exile and confidant of Aratus before the capture of Sicyon, Plut. Arat. V. He can probably be identified with No. 59.
59. Ἀριστομάχως Σωσάνδρου. He had a statue at Delphi whose base has been found. Pitt. Syll. I³, 458.
60. Ἀριστομένης, father of Ἀδμάρως. See No. 9.
61. Ἀρίστροφας, tyrant and friend of Philip and Alexander, Demos. on the Crown, 48, 285. Melanthius made a painting of him standing beside a chariot of victory. The painting was partly destroyed by Aratus. Plut. Arat. XIII, 2 ff. He erected a monument to the poet Telestes and engaged Nicomachus of Thebes to paint it. Fliny, N.H. 35, 109. See p. 74.
62. Ἀρίστων. See Εὐκράτης No. 120.
63. Ἀριστάνωμος, father of the tyrant Cleisthenes, Herod. VI, 126; Faus. II, 8, 1. According to Nicol. Damas. fr. 61 he would be the father of a Myron, Isodemus and Cleisthenes. On the genealogy of the early tyrants see p. 49 and n. 2.
64. Ἀρίφρων. He was active as a lyric poet and λογοποιῶσαλλος in Athens shortly after the Peloponnesian War, I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 1280, Cf. Köhler, Hermes II, 1867, p. 23. His paeon to Hygieia given by Athenaeus XV, 702a appears to have been well known in antiquity according to Lucian (De lapsu inter sal. c. 6; cf. Maxim. Tyr. XIII, 229) and the fact that it was cut on stone about 200 A.D. together with a hymn to Asclepius and a hymn to Telesphorus. I.G. (C.I.A.) III, 1, 171.

65. Ἀγεσίλαος, a painter, son of Tisicrates, Pliny N.H. 35, 146. He is probably to be identified with the Ἀγεσίλαος of Paus. I, 1, 3. See p.134
66. Ἀρμόδιος. The name occurs in a list found at Sicyon, Earle, A.J.A. IV, 1888, p.427; I.G. IV, 425.
67. Ἀρτέμων. See Ἀλεοπάτρα no. 176.
68. Ἀρλεδάμνος Ἀριστοκρίτου, a member of the comic chorus at the Soteria at Delphi in 270 and 269 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2565, 76 and 2566, 71.
Notes 1575.C. and 2576.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. XXIX, 1917, p. 171.
69. Ἀρχιό. Σικωνία, grave stone in Athens. I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 3327.
70. Ἀσκληπίων. The name occurs on a fragmentary inscription found at Sicyon. I.G. IV, 431.
71. Βακχίδας, a dancer who trained a chorus of men at the festival of the Muses at Thespieae. Amphion in Ather. XIV, 629 a; cf. Preger, Inscr. gr. metr. no. 141. His date is about the fourth century.
72. βίων. See Καλλιβίος no. 157.
73. Βοίδας, sculptor, a son and pupil of Lysippus. Pliny, N.H. 34, 66 and 73. Regarding his only mentioned work, a praying figure see p. 115. Robert in Pauly-Wissowa III, p.594 suggests he may be the Poedas referred to by Vitruvius III, praef. 2. Whether he is the same as the βοΐσκος said by Tatian, c. Gr. 52 to have made a statue of Myrtis, the teacher of Findar, cannot be determined.
74. Βοιωτός, an athlete who won in running at Olympia in Ol. 164. Euseb. Chron. I, p.210 (ed. Schoene); cf. Krause, Olympia p.258.
75. Βοντιάης, a potter reputed to be the inventor of modelling in clay, Pliny, N.H. 35, 151-152; Athenag. Legat. pro Christ 14 p.59 (ed. Dechair). See p.32 and especially Robert in Pauly-Wissowa III, p.1079.
76. βρῦγης, a painter who was father and first teacher of Pausias. Pliny, N.H. 35, 123.

77. βούκλιος, the first Sicyonian who won the prize in the boys' boxing match at Olympia. His statue was made by Canachus the younger. He won some time between 412-360 B.C., Paus. VI, 13,7. cf. Hyde, Olympic Victor Monuments p. 120.
78. Γλαυκίας Δημητρίδης. The name occurs on an inscription from Athens. I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 3328.
79. Γλοκέρη, a flower-girl and garland-weaver loved by the painter Pausias, one of whose paintings of her was world-famous. Pliny, N.H. 21, 4 ff. and 35, 125. See pp. 129-130.
80. Γοργίας. See Κάναχος No. 167.
81. Γραναιός, an athlete who won five victories at Olympia, two in the pentathlon, one in the single race, and two in the double course, running both with and without his shield though in unknown Olympiads. Paus. II, 11,8. He is usually identified with Granacs of Sicyon mentioned by Africanus (Euseb. Chron. I, n.218) who won the stadion in Ol. 231 = 145 A.D. Cf. Hyde, Ol. Victor Monuments, p.376 n.7.
82. Δάλλκος. See Παντακλής no. 247.
83. Δαίδαλος Πατροκλής, bronze sculptor who made victor statues and historical groups at Olympia and Delphi in the first half of the fourth century B.C. His work and all ancient references to him are discussed on pp. 104 ff.
84. Δάιππος, sculptor, a son and pupil of Lysippus, Pliny, N.H. 34, 66 and 51. He made two victor statues at Olympia, Paus. VI, 12, 6 and 16, 5, and a Herixyomenus, Pliny, N.H. 34, 87. He flourished in the last two decades of the fourth and the first two of the third. See further pp.115-116.
85. Δαιτωίδας sculptor who made a victor statue at Olympia, Paus. VI, 17,5. His signature has been found on a base at Delphi, Loewy, I.G.P. 97, and on a base at Thebes, I.G. VII, 2472. See further p. 116.

- father of
86. ~~Δαρδοεισ~~ ~~Χα~~ ~~Θεωροδόκος~~ at Delphi. F.C.H. 45, 1921, p. 11 line 34. Cf. No. 340.
87. ~~Δαρδοεισ~~ ~~τος~~, sculptor who was active in the first half of the fourth century B.C. All references to him are considered on pp. 106-107.
88. ~~Δαρδοστράτα~~ ~~Σικωνία~~, gravestone in Thebes. I.G. VII, 2631.
89. ~~Δαρδοστράτος~~ ~~Ναυκράτους~~. He swore to the One Year's truce, 423 B.C., Thuc. IV, 119, 2.
90. ~~Δερίνικος~~ ~~Παντοίου~~, flute-player at the Soteria at Delphi, 270 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2565, 15. *Dates 259 B.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. XXXIX, 1919, p. 171*
91. ~~Δερίνικος~~ [...], member of the *rené* chorus at the Soteria at Delphi, 271 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2564, 42. *Dates 259 B.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. XXXIX, 1919, p. 171.*
92. ~~Δερμήτριος~~, gravestone. See no. 78.
93. ~~Δημόκριτος~~, a guest-friend of Cicero whom he praises, Cic. ad Fam. XIII, 78.
94. ~~Διογένης~~, historian who wrote *τὰ περὶ Πελοποννησίου*, Diog. Laert. VI, 81 = Müller, B.H.G. IV, p. 392. His work is lost. It may have been travel literature of the Hellenistic period. cf. Berger, Pauly-Wissowa V, n. 737; Susemihl; Gr. Lit. d. Alex. II, p. 387.
95. ~~Διόδωρος~~, victor at Olympia in an unknown contest in the 160th Olympiad (140 B.C.) according to Pausanias. VII, 16, 10. But the date is incorrect, Cf. Hitzig-Flümmner, ad loc.
96. ~~Διοίτας~~ [*Νική*] ~~οστράτου~~, *ἐφορομήμων παρὰ Δοριέων τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννησίου* in 130 B.C., I.G. II, 551, p. 329 line 67; Ditt. Syll. II³, 692, 25.
97. ~~Δίων~~. The name occurs on a list found in Sicily, Carle, A.J.A. IV, 1888, p. 427; I.G. IV, 425.
98. ~~Δορκὰς~~ ~~Σικωνία~~, gravestone found at St. Trinity in Attica. I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 3329.

99. Δορκίω. Ζηκωνίος, gravestone in Athens. I.G. (C.I.) II, 3, 3330.
100. Ἐκδηλος, one of the companions of Aratus, probably a Sicyonian. Flut. Arat. VII.
101. Ἐλεοθέριος, father of an unknown who won in the long course at Larissae at some time in the first century B.C., I.G. IX, 2, 534 line 25.
- 101a. Ἐπαίνετος, Probably a Sicyonian. He presented to one Λάριος a vase signed by Execias in letters of the Sicyonian alphabet. I.G. IV, 424; Roberts, Intr. to Gr. Fig. I, No. 65.
102. Ἐπὶφρατος, See Εὐδόξος No. 116.
103. Ἐπὶγένης, tragic poet who, according to Suidas (s.v. Θέσπις), is said by some to have been the 16th preceding Thespis, while according to others he only immediately preceded him as the founder of Tragedy. Judging from what is said about the origin of the proverb οὐδὲν πρὸς Ἐπίφρατον (Suidas, s.v. οὐδὲν πρὸς Ἐπὶφρατον; Zenob. V, 4) he is supposed to have introduced into the performance other subjects than the original one of the fortunes of Dionysus. Cf. Christ-Schmid, Gr. Literaturgesch. I⁶, p. 280; Edgeway, The Origin of Tragedy, pp. 56, 68, 77.
104. Ἐπίγονος, a harp-player who was an Amraciot by birth but later became a citizen of Sicyon, Athen. IV, 183 d. He first used a harp named after him, Epigonius, which had the astonishingly high number of forty strings, Pollux, IV, 50. In his school wind and string instruments were combined, Athen. XIV, 637 f. His activity falls in the time of Cleisthenes when the city was the scene of great religious festivals and the Pythian games. Cf. v. Jan und Graf, Pauly-Wissowa VI, p. 60.
105. [Ε]πίχορος, λογοδιόσκῳ at Athens in 344/3 B.C., I.G. II, 1240; Mitt. Syll. III⁵, 1086.
106. Ἐπιλάττης, Macedonian partisan in Sicyon at the time of Philip and Alexander, Demos. on the Crown, 285; Suidas s.v. προδότης. See p. 74.

107. Ἐπιλάτης, one from whom wood was purchased for the temple at Delphi, 342/1 B.C., Ditt. Syll. I³, 248 K², Col. I, 17. He is possibly the same as No. 106.
108. Ἐράτος: ππ[ος]. The name occurs on a list found in Sicyon. Earle, A.J.A. IV, 1888, p. 427; I.G. IV, 425.
109. Ἐξατοκλής, ambassador sent by the Sicyonians to express their thanks to some benefactor unknown to us. McMurtry, A.J.A. V, 1889, p. 282, no. 1; I.G. IV, 426; Wilhelm, Hermes 41, 1906, pp. 76-77. It dates from the end of the third or first half of the second century B.C. Cf. p. 85.
110. Ἐρίδωρος, painter in Hellenistic times; the teacher of Iasias, Pliny, N.H. 35, 146.
111. Ἐυανδρίδης, naopoios at Delphi before 300 B.C., Ditt. Syll. I³, 237 II B, 47.
112. Ἐυανδρος. See Ἰλαρον no. 149.
113. Ἐυάγγελοςτος Στρίλπου, naopoios at Delphi 339 and 336 B.C., Ditt. Syll. I³, 237 II B, 42 a; 249 F, 76; 251 H, Col II, 24.
114. Εὐβοῦλα Σικωνία, gravestone in Athens., I.G. (C.I.A.) III, 2, 2906.
115. Εὐθουλίδης Σικωνία, gravestone in Athens, I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 3331.
116. Εὐδόρος Ἐπηράτου, διδάσκαλος at the Soteria at Delphi in 270 B.C., S.G.B.I., 2565, 47. Dated 259 B.C. by Johnson, 4 J.P. xxxix, 1918, p. 171.
117. Εὐθόδωρος ἱερομνήμων at Delphi at the autumn meeting 272/1 B.C., S.G.B.I. 2516, 4; Ditt. Syll. I³, 418 A, 4. Cf. Peloch, Gr. Gesch. III, 2, p. 320. Dated 267 B.C. by Johnson, 4 J.P. xxxix, 1918, p. 171.
118. Εὐθόδης, tyrant together with Timoclidas after the tyranny of Cleon in the third century B.C. according to Pausanias II, 8, 1 and 2. He is not mentioned in the succession given by Plut. Arat. II who says Timoclidas and Clinias were chosen popular leaders after the death of Cleon. Niese, Gesch. d. gr. u. Röm. Staaten. II, p. 243, n. 5 and others think Pausanias is mistaken or it is a corruption.

119. Εὐθυράτης, sculptor; son and pupil of Lysippos. He was active in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. at Delphi, Lebadea in Boeotia, Thespiae and other places. His pupils were Nisicrates and, above all, Xenocrates who is famous for his writings on ancient art. See Robert in Pauly-Wissowa, VI, p. 1507 and Chap. VII, p. 116.
120. Εὐεράτεια Ἀρίστου, gravestone in Athens. I.G. (C.I.) II, 3, 3332.
121. Εὐ[Α]λέτης. See Θεόφαντος No. 139.
122. Εὐπομπός, painter. He was the real founder of the Sicyonian school, the teacher of Pamphilus under whom Apelles studied. After his time the schools of painting were three: Ionic, Sicyonian, and Attic. He was active toward the end of the fifth century, Pliny, N.H. 34, 61 and 64; 35, 75. See further p. 127.
123. [Εὐστράτ]ος Ξενοντίμου, naupoios at Delphi 329 B.C., Ditt. Syll. I³, 237 II F, 44.
124. [Εὐστράτ]ος Τιμοεράτεος, a naupoios in 335 B.C., probably a Sicyonian. Ditt. Syll. I³, 237 II F, 42 c; 261 H Col. II, 26 and note 18. If the reading is correct Ἀράτης (No. 121) was his brother and Sicyon had three naupoioi in 335. Cf. Cloche, F.O.E. 40, 1916, pp. 128 ff.
125. Εὐτέλης father of Aristodemus. See No. 51.
126. Εὐτυχίδης, sculptor and painter. He was a pupil of Lysippos and was active in the latter part of the fourth and beginning of the third century B.C. The references to him are brought together on pp. 117 f., 134.
127. Εὐφράνωρ, an exile from Sicyon living at Argos. He was a carpenter by trade and furnished Aratus with ladders for scaling the ~~the~~ walls of Sicyon. Flut. Arat. VI.
128. Εὐφράνωρ, father of Aristogenes. See No. 47.
129. Εὐφρονίδης, a grammarian from Corinth or Sicyon who was one of the teachers of Aristophanes of Byzantium according to Suidas (s.v. Ἀριστο-

- Φάνης βυζαντινός). He is probably to be identified with Euphronius, the commentator on the comic poet Aristophanes. Cf. Kohn in Pauly-Wissowa II, p. 364 and VI, pp. 1220-1221.
130. Εὐφρών, ruler of Sicily 367-366 B.C. whose despotic conduct led to his expulsion by the Arcadians and Thebans. He was assassinated in Thebes. See pp. 69 ff. He was honored as 'Founder' of the city. Cf. p. 172.
131. Εὐφρών Ἀττικά grandson of the first Euphron. He was active against the Macedonians in Sicily and was made a proxenus of Athens. Two Attic decrees of 323/2 and 318/7 B.C. respectively, recount his deeds. J.G. II, 5, 231 F; Mitt. Syll. I³, 310, 317. See Swoboda in Pauly-Wissowa VI, p. 1218 or above, pp. 75 ff.
132. Ἐλέτιβος, the husband of Nicagora, Iaus. II, 10, 3.
133. Ἡράκλειτος, the supposed author of a work called περὶ Ἀέθων, Is.-Illt., de fluviis, XIII, 4. Cf. Gusemihl, Gesch. d. gr. Litt. d. Alex. I, p. 865 n. 149; Gossen, Pauly-Wissowa, VIII, p. 511.
134. Θαλάη, painter in the fourth century B.C., Biog. Laer. I, 38. Cf. Furrer, Gesch. d. gr. Künstler, II, p. 158.
135. Θεόπορος, a contractor on the ὀπλοθήκη (armory) and stoa of the gymnasium at Delphi in 338 B.C., Mitt. Syll. I³, 250 I, 36 ff. Some years later he was among those who contracted for furnishing a silver crater for the temple at Delphi. Fourquet, P.C.H. 21, 1907, pp. 466-487; Mitt. Syll. I³, 250 F².
136. Θεόπορος Νίκωνος, proxenus at Delphi in 165/4 B.C., S.G.I.I. 2581, 311; Mitt. Syll. II³, 585, 311.
137. Θεόπορος Σικράτους Ἀχαιοῦ ἀπὸ Σικανῶνος, actor of the Old Comedy who was a victor at the Ἰσμεῖαι at Thespiae 167-146 B.C., P.C.H. 19, 1895, p. 337 No. 11 where only the ethnicon is preserved. The name is restored by Jamot by reference to ibid. p. 336 No. 10 where Theopompus is

- is priest of the technitae. Cf. O'Connor, Hist of actors and Acting in Anc. Greece, n. 102, No. 235.
138. Θεότιμος, father of a naepoios at Delphi whose name is partly obliterated. Ditt. Syll. I³, 237 II F, 45. cf. No. 352.
139. Θεόφαν[τος] Εὐ[χ]αί[δ]ο[ς], a proxenus of Megasthenes in Megaris in the latter part of the third century B.C., I.G. VII, 213.
140. Θερασάωγ Θερσιλλέος, naepoios at Delphi between 298-275 B.C., Ditt. Syll. I³, 237 II F, 42; 238 II, 1.
141. Θερσιλλῆς, see above No. 140.
142. Θερσίνοος Νικωνίδου, a χορευτὴς Ἀφροδίστης the Soteria at Delphi in 271, 269 and 268 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2564, 73; 2566, 74; 2563, 70. Cf. Ditt. Syll. I³, 424, 80. *Jaeger 260, 2574 and 2575 B.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. XXXIX. 1918, p. 171.*
143. Θεότιμος, father of Τιροκλείδου. See No. 313.
144. Θεωρίς Σικωνία, courtesan and mother of Sophocles' son Ariston; Schol. on Arist. Frogs, 78; Suidas, s.v. Τοφῶν; Hesych. s.v. Θεωρίς : Athen., VIII p. 592 a. Ariston was father of the younger Sophocles, Suidas s.v. Λοφοκλής. Cf. Fergus, Gr. Lit. III, pp. 364, 619.
145. Θεονίκης, father of the sculptor Tisicrates No. 365.
146. Θεονίκης Γεωργιάδου, sculptor; grandson of the above. He was active in the latter part of the third century B.C. All the references to him are gathered on pp. 119-120.
147. Θρασυκλῆς, magistrate between 251-146 B.C., Greek Coins, Tr. Mus. Pelop. n. 51 No. 194; cf. Head, Hist. Num.² p. 411.
148. Θράσ[ω]ν. The name occurs on a fragmentary inscription from Sicyon, I.C. IV, 431.
149. Ἰλαρον Εὐκλάρου Σικωνία, Π[ρ]οξένου τοῦ Ἀνακλείως δυνή, gravestone in Athens. I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 3333.

150. Ἰππάρχμος, naopoios at Delphi in 338 and 335 B.C., Ditt. Syll. I³, 237 II F, 42 b; 250 D, Col. I, 16; 251 H, Col. II, 25.
151. Ἰππόδαμος, general under Ephron in 367 B.C., Xen. Hell. VII, 1, 45.
152. Ἰππων Ἀριστοκράτους, member of the men's chorus at the Soteria at Delphi in 269 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2566, 38; Ditt. Syll.² 691, 38. *Dated 257 B.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. xxxix, 1918, p. 171.*
153. Ἴσοδημος, tyrant of Sicyon who was brother of Myron and Cleisthenes and ruled but one year according to Nicol. Damas. fr. 61.
154. Καλλίας, gravestone in Athens. He was father of Pamphilus No. 246; I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 3334.
155. Καλλίας Ὀλυμπιοδῶρου, member of men's chorus at the Soteria at Delphi in 270 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2565, 36. *Dated 258 B.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. xxxix, 1918, p. 171.*
156. Καλλίας, father of an actor of unknown name; Ditt. Syll. II³, 704 H. The inscription dates 116 B.C.
157. Καλλίσκος βίωνος, a member of the men's chorus at the Soteria at Delphi in 270 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2565, 32. *Dated 258 B.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. xxxix, 1918, p. 171.*
158. Καλλικράτης Νέωνος, honored with a proxeny at Delphi in 176/5 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2581, 272; Ditt. Syll. I³, 585, 272.
159. Καλαρίβωλος Μηνοφίλου, contestant in music at Argos in the latter part of the second or beginning of the first century B.C., Vollgraff, Mnemosyne, 47, 1919, p. 253 line 14.
160. Καλλιμέδων, father of No. 161.
161. Καλλιμέδων Καλλιμέδοντος, a χορευτής κωμικός at the Soteria at Delphi in 270 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2565, 78. *Dated 258 B.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. xxxix, 1918, p. 171.*
162. Καλλίνικος. See Πυθοκρίτος.
163. Καλλίστρατος Φιλοθέλεος, an athlete whose incomplete list of victories number 5 in wrestling, 8 in the pancration, and 10 in boxing, McMurtry, A.J.A. V, 1889, pp. 283-284 No. 2; I.G. IV, 428; Michel, 887. The inscription is notable for showing that a man could compete in more than one group

- of contests. Cf. Schneider in Pauly-Wissowa, IX, p. 2251.
164. $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$. The name occurs in a list found at Sicyon. Earle, A.J.A. IV, 1898, p.427; I.G. IV, 425.
165. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\chi\alpha\varsigma$, sculptor in the early fifth century. He was a brother of Aristocles. All the references to him are gathered on pp. 93 ff.
166. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\chi\alpha\varsigma$, a sculptor who flourished about 400 B.C. He is discussed on p.103.
167. $[\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma \Gamma\omicron\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha]$, victor in a race at Larisa in the first century B.C., I.G. IX, 2, 534, 23.
168. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma \Delta\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, sculptor whose signature was found on a marble base at Hyettus in Boeotia. It dates between 223-197 B.C. Loewy, I.C.F. 153 conjectures he is a Sicyonian.
169. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\alpha\varsigma$, sculptor. He was a son of Alexis and pupil of Eutychides. He flourished in the first half of the third century B.C. He is discussed on p. 118.
170. $\kappa\alpha\Phi\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, probably a Sicyonian since he was instrumental in enabling Aratus to enter over the wall of Sicyon unannounced, Plut. Arat. VI, 3; VII,3.
171. $\kappa\eta\Phi\iota\sigma\acute{\omicron}\delta\omega\varsigma$, gravestone in Athens. I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 3335.
172. $\kappa\alpha\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\alpha\varsigma$, magistrate between 251-146 B.C., Gr. Coins Fr. Mus., Pelop. p. 52 Nos. 195, 196; cf. Head, Hist. Num.² p. 411.
173. $\kappa\alpha\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\alpha\varsigma$, general under Euphron in 367 B.C., Xen. Hell. VII, 1, 45. He was honored as proxenus by the Pisatans with Socles in 364 B.C. during the events mentioned by Xen. Hell. VII, 4, 14-35. Cf. Ditt. and Furgold, Insc. v. 31. 36; Ditt. Syll. I³, 171; Hicks and Hill, 115; Michel, 198.
174. $\kappa\alpha\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, father of Aratus, I.G. IV, 788. He expelled the tyrant Cleon and established a democracy together with Timoclidas, Paus. II, 8,2; Plut. Arat. II, 2 but was slain about 264 B.C. by Abantidas. He built a gymnasium in Sicyon, Paus. II, 10,7. Prophantus was his brother, Plut. Arat. II,3.

175. *ἡλείσθεύκης*, the famous tyrant who ruled in the first half of the sixth century B.C. His activities are discussed on pp. 51 ff.
176. *ἡλευπάτρα Ἀρτεμίωνος ζικωνία, Ἐργασθένου Εὐρυίδου θυγῆ*, a gravestone of Hymettian marble found near the Dipylon, I.G. (C.I.A.) III, 2, 2192.
177. *ἡλέων*, sculptor, a pupil of Polyclitus. He is discussed fully on pp. 107-108.
178. *ἡλέων Ζ[ω]σικράτου*, member of the boys' chorus at the Soteria at Delphi in 271 B.C., S.G.B.I. 2564, 29. *Dates 259/3 B.C. by Johnson, A. J. H. 1916, p. 17*
179. *ἡλέων, κισσαριδός* at Delos in 280 B.C., F.C.H. VII, 1883, pp. 108-109; I.G. XI, 2, 108 line 23.
180. *ἡλέων*, tyrant in the first part of the third century B.C., Paus. II, 8, 1; Aelian, Var. hist. XII, 43; Plut. Arat. II, 1. cf. p. 79.
181. *ἡράτης Τιμοκράτους*, naupoios at Delphi in 331 and 329 B.C., Mitt. Syll. I³, 237 II F; 241 C, 143; 251 v²; 252 N, 30.
182. *ἡράτων*. He is reputed to have 'invented' painting by painting on a whitened tablet the shadows of a man and woman, Athenag. Leg. pro Christ. 14 (p. 59 ed. Dechair) = B.C. 381. See pp. 123 ff.
183. *ἡριτόδημος*. See Pothinus, No. 2.
184. *ἡτήσιππος*, ambassador sent by the Sicyonians to express their thanks to some benefactor unknown to us. McMurtry, A.J.A. V, 1889, p. 282, No. 1; I.G. IV, 426; Wilhelm, Hermes, 41, 1906, pp. 76-77. It dates from the end of the third or beginning of the second century B.C. See p. 85.
185. *Ἀεοντίδης*, painter of Hellenistic times. He painted Aratus as victor with a trophy, and a woman playing the cithara. Pliny, N.H. 35, 141.
186. *Ἀεπτινῆς*. See Ζωσικράτης No. 295.
187. *Ἀνδιδάκας*, magistrate between 251-146 B.C., Head, Hist. Num.² p. 411.
188. *Ἀνκῖνος Ἀνκίου*, gravestone in Athens. I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 3336.
189. *Ἀύκιος*. See No. 188.

190. Λύσανδρος, general under Luchron in 367 B.C., Xen. Hell. VII, 1, 45.
191. Λύσανδρος. See *Ξένων* No. 238.
192. Λύσανδρος, musician. Philochorus in Athen. XIV, 637 f. 638 a credits him with certain innovations in the playing of the harp.
193. Λυσίβαλος. The Heracles at Tarentum is wrongly attributed to him instead of to Lysippus by Nicetas Choniates, De Signis Constantinop. 5 (ed. Fekker) und Le Alexio Isaaci Angeli Vratre III 335 C (ed. Fekker).
194. Λυσίφρωνς, general who was removed by Luchron in 367 B.C. and replaced by Adeas, Xen. Hell. VII, 1, 45.
195. Λύσιππος, sculptor at the head of the schools of Argos and Sicyon in the time of Philip and Alexander of Macedon, and one of the six greatest sculptors of ancient Greece. His works are said to have numbered 1500, some of them colossal. He especially introduced a new rendering of the male human body by making the head smaller than his predecessors, the body more slender and hard, so as to give the impression of greater height. With the rendering of the hair and other details he also took great pains. Pliny (N.H. 34, 61 ff.) and other writers mention many of his works. Of the gods Zeus, Poseidon, and the Sun-god he produced striking types while among the heroes Heracles was his favorite. Among men his statues of Alexander the Great were most numerous. He sculptured many figures of athletes, of which the one with a strigil was a great favorite with Tiberius (Pliny, N.H. 34, 62) and this has usually been regarded as the original copied in the Apoxyomenus of the Vatican. Some see with more certainty a copy of an athlete by Lysippus in the marble statue of Agias found at Delphi which is a replica of a bronze statue set up by him in Thessaly. The literary references are all gathered in Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* and the best modern account is by F. P. Johnson, Lysippus (Diss. J.H.U. 1921).

186. Λυσίφρατος, a sculptor of the fourth century B.C., brother of Lysippos. We are told by Pliny that he followed a strongly realistic line, being the first sculptor to take impressions of human faces in plaster, N.H. 34, 51; 35, 153. See further on p. 115. Pittenberger (I.G. VII, 553) suggests that a signature by a Lisistratus who signs as a Theban in an inscription found at Tanagra may be the brother of Lysippos who had had Theban citizenship conferred on him.
187. Μαρσύας Χαριτίμου, a member of the men's chorus at the Soteria at Delphi in 271 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2564, 41. Dated 259 B.C. by Johnson, A. J. P. xxix, 1911 p. 71.
188. Μάχων, poet of the New Comedy from Corinth or Sicyon, a tutor of Aristophanes of Byzantium. (Athen. VI, 241 e, f; XIV, 664 a). He was active in Alexandria where he produced beside his comedies (Athen. XIV, 664 b; VIII, 345 f) a collection of anecdotes written in iambic tetrameter (Athen. XIII, 577 d--583 d). Cf. Susemihl, op. cit. I, p. 265.
189. Μεγακλής. See Ὀνάσιμος No. 242.
200. Μελέανδρος, a painter who was active from c. 370-330 B.C. succeeding Pamphilus as head of the Sicyonian school, Pliny, N.H. XXXV, 50, 76 and 80; Vitruv. praef. 14; Plut. Arat. 13. A citation from his Treatise on Painting is given by Diog. Laer. IV, 18. Cf. Pliny, N.H. Index of authors to Book 35.
201. Μέναιχμος, the son of Alcibiades was a historian who lived about the time of Alexander the Great and wrote on artists, a list of Pythian victors, and a local history of Sicyon. See further pp. 176-177.
202. Μένανδρος. See Μενέξενος No. 203.
203. Μενέξενος Μειάνδρου, proxenus at Thistie in Boeotia, I.G. VII, 2223; S.G.D.I. I, p. 399, 747 d.
204. Μενίππος. See Περικλῆς No. 256.

205. Μηνόςφιλος. See No. 150.
206. Μινασάληης, an epigrammist from the deme of Plataea, Strabo IX, p.412.
He lived in the third century B.C. and we have some fragments of his work. cf. Gusemihl, op.cit. II, p. 540.
207. Μινασάληης Μινασίππου, a proxenus at Oropus in the middle of the third century B.C., I.G. VII, 395. Wilhelm, Sitz. Wien. Acad. 179, 1915, part VI, No. 25 has identified him with the poet above.
208. Μιναιθέας, painter, Pliny, N.H. 35, 146. We are quite safe in identifying him with the Minasitheus who assisted Aratus in taking Sicyon. Plut. Arat. VII.
209. Μινάσιππος. See Minasalces No. 207.
210. Μινασίων, See Sosicrates No. 296.
211. Μόσχος Ξωσίπλεους, a χορευτής κωμικός
at the Soteria at Delphi in 270 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2565, 77. *Dated 258 B.C. by Johnson, A.G.P. xxxix, 1918, p.171.*
212. Μόσχος Ξωσίπλεους, a χορευτής κωμικός at the Soteria at
Delphi in 271 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2564, 72. cf. 2563, 74 and Ditt. Syll. I³,
424, 84. *Dated 259 B.C. by Johnson, A.G.P. xxxix, 1918, p.171.*
213. Μοῦσος. The name occurs on a list found in Sicyon. Earle, A.J.A. IV,
1888, p. 427; I.G. IV, 425.
214. Μύρων, tyrant in the seventh century. Herod. VI, 126, Arist. Pol. V,
12, 5; Nicol. Damas. fr. 61; Paus. II, 8,1; Plut., De sera Num. vind. 7.
He won a chariot race at Olympia in the 33rd Olympiad, Paus. VI, 19, 2.
See n. 50.
215. Ναυκράτης. See No. 89.
216. Νεέλληης, a third century painter. He is discussed on p. 136.
217. Νεόφρων, tragic poet said to have written 120 dramas, one of which Euripides adapted into his Medea, Suidas, s.v. Νεόφρων; Argum. to Eurip.
Medea and scholia 666, 1387; Diog. Laer. II, 17, 10 (134); Stob. Floril,

- 20, 34. But the relation of Neophron to Euripides is vice versa. . fragments of the beginning of a post-Euripidean Medea have been found and attributed to Neophron. cf. Christ-Schmid, Gr. Literaturgesch. I^C, p. 358.
218. Νέων. See No. 158.
219. Νέων. Mentioned in a very fragmentary inscription from the acropolis in Athens. I.C. (C.I.A.) II, 353.
220. Νικαγόρα, wife of Echetus; she is said to have brought Asclepius to Sicyon from Epidaurus, Paus. II, 10, 3.
221. Νικοκλής, tyrant before 251 B.C. who assassinated Pseas, Plut. Arat. III, 4; Paus. II, 8, 3. He was himself expelled by Aratus, Plut. Arat. IV, ff.; Plut. Philop. I; Praec. reip. ger. 10, 6; Polyb. X, 22 (25) 3; Cicero, de Off. II, 23, 81. He escaped from the city by an underground passage, Plut. Arat. IX, 2. ΝΙ on a coin may stand for Nicocles, Gr. Coins Pr. Mus. Belop. XXXIV.
222. Νικόμαχος, a man who sold timber to the authorities at Delphi in 342/1 B.C. for the rebuilding of the temple, Ditt. Syll. I³, 248, K² Col. I, 18.
223. Νικοφάνης, probably a Sicyonian who conveyed timber to Delphi in 341 B.C., Ditt. Syll. I³, 248 I, 32.
224. [Νικ]όστρατος. See No. 86.
225. Νικόστρατος, a marble-mason of the 4th cent. A.D. whose epitaph was found between Stinanga and Skrapari in Sicyonia. I.C. IV, 437.
226. Νικοφάνης, painter who was active toward the end of the fourth century B.C. See p. 133.
227. Νίκων. See Theopompus No. 136.
228. Νικωνίδης. See No. 142.
229. Ξενίας, an encaustic painter mentioned in the financial lists at Delphi for the year 335 B.C. as having received 33 staters for work there, Ditt. Syll. I³, 251 H Col. III, 12.

230. $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$, a woman who had died in child-birth whose grave-stele and painting on it Pausanias describes, Paus. II, 7,3. Cf. p. 8, 131 f.
231. $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$. See No. 234.
232. $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\kappa\lambda\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, exile from Sicyon and an accomplice of Aratus in taking Sicyon, Plut. Arat. V.
233. $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, a sculptor who was a pupil of Hsicerates or Euthycrates and wrought more statues than either. Pliny, N.H. 34, 83; Diog. Laer. IV 2, 13. He wrote a work on bronze statuary (Pliny, N.H. Index to Pk. 34 and in 34, 83), and on painting (Pliny, N.H. 35, 68) about 280 B.C. of which we have numerous fragments in Pliny. Cf. Jex-Blake and Sellers, The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art. XVI-XXXVI.
234. $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\tau\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$, naopoios at Delphi in 356/5, 353/2 and 346/5 B.C. and donor to the temple fund in 359/7 B.C., Ditt. Syll. I³, 237 II P, 42 with references.
235. $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\tau\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$, magistrate between 251-146 B.C., Gr. Coins, Fr. Mus. Pelop. p. 53 No. 218, cf. Head, Hist. Num.² p. 411.
236. $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\phi\lceil\lambda\rceil\omicron\varsigma$. The name occurs in a very fragmentary inscription from Sicyon. I.G. IV, 431.
237. $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$, painter, a pupil of Nealces, Pliny, N.H. 34, 146.
238. $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ $\lambda\upsilon\sigma\lceil\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rceil\lceil\sigma\rceil\upsilon$, a member of the boys' chorus at the Soteria at Delphi in 271 B.C., G.G.D.I. 2564, 24. *Added 2598.C. by Johnson. 27 p. 221, 1915, p. 171.*
239. $\omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma$, magistrate between 251-146 B.C., Gr. Coins, Fr. Mus. Pelop. p. 52 Nos. 197, 198; p. 53 No. 219; p. 54, Nos. 220, 221, 222. Cf. Head, Hist. Num.² p. 411.
240. $\omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\pi\iota\acute{\omicron}\delta\omega\phi\omicron\varsigma$, father of Callias No. 155.
241. $\omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\pi\omicron\varsigma$, a sculptor, active in the beginning of the fourth century. He is probably a Sicyonian. Paus. VI, 3, 13. Cf. Prunn, Gesch. d. gr. Künstler, I, p. 292; Hitzig-Plümner, II, p. 545.

242. Ὀνάσιμος Μεγακλέους, one who swore to the One Year's Truce in 423 B.C., Thuc. IV, 119, 2.
243. Ὀνατίδας Λαριδῆναι, member of the men's chorus at the Soteria at Delphi in 269 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2566, 39. Dated 257 B.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. XXIV, 1918, p. 171.
244. Ὀρθόγους, the son of Andreas and founder of the tyranny in Sicyon in the 7th century B.C., Oxy. Pap. Vol. XI, No. 1365; Arist., Pol. V, 12, 1; Nicol. Damas. fr. 61; Plut., De sera num. vind. 7; Libanius, Or. Contra Severum, III, p. 251 (ed. Reiske). See p. 49.
245. Πάμφιλος Ἀμφιπολίτης ἢ Σικωνίος, κτλ. Suidas (s.v.). He was a painter generally considered to be from Amphipolis but active in Sicyon in the first half of the fourth century. He founded a school in the strict sense of the term which Pausias and Melanthius of Sicyon, and Arellus of Colophon attended. Cf. p. 127. The sources and commentary on Pamphilus are in A. Reinach, Recueil Milliet, I, pp. 252 ff.
246. Πάμφιλος Καλλίου, gravestone in Athens, I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 3334.
247. Παντακλῆς Δαλλέου, ἀνὰ ἡτῆς at the Soteria at Delphi in 271 and 268 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2564, 69; 2563, 45 = Litt. Syll. I³, 424, 55. Dated 260 and 257 B.C. by Johnson, A.J.P. XXIV, 1918, p. 171.
248. Παντακλῆς, ἀνὰ ἡτῆς at Athens for the chorus with which Nicias son of Nicodemus won in 320/19 B.C., Litt. Syll. III³, 1088; I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 1246.
249. Παντοῖος. See No. 90.
250. Πασίας, tyrant in the third century; father of Abantidas and Coso, Plut. Arat. II, 2; III, 4; Paus. II, 8, 2 and 3. He was assassinated by Nicocles, Paus. II, 8, 3; Plut. III, 4. See p. 80.
251. Πασίας, painter and brother of Aeginetas, Pliny, N.H. 35, 145.
252. Πατροκλῆς sculptor who was active in the beginning of the fourth century. He was probably a son of the elder Polyclitus, (cf. Robert, Hermes, 35, 1900, p. 192) and father of Paedalus, (Paus. VI, 3, 4; Loewy, I.G.F.

38, 89; Insch. von Ol. 161, 635). In his work see p.103.

253. Πανσίτας, painter; the son of Fryes. He was a pupil of Parrhilus and a contemporary of Apelles and was active from about 380-330 B.C. He won fame as an encaustic painter and as a painter of flowers, Pliny, N.H. 35, 123 ff; 21, 4; Iaus. II, 27, 3. See further pp.129 ff.
254. Πειθάνωρ [—], τραγῳδός at the Ioteria at Delphi in 271 B.C., I.G.I.I. 2564, 55.
255. Περίδωρος, general who was killed at the battle of Mycale, Herod. IX, 103.
256. Πετραῖος Μενέσκου, contestant in music at Argos in the second or first century B.C., Vollgraff, Ktemosyne, 47, 1919, n. 253 line 18.
257. Πολέμων, the geographer is called a Samian, a Sicyonian or Athenian in Athen. VI, p. 234 d. But he was probably not from any of these. cf. Foucart, Revue de Philologie, 1878, pp. 215-216.
258. Πολύαινος, ἱερομνήμων at Delphi in 339 B.C., Ditt. Syll. I⁵, 249, F. 30.
259. Πολύκλειτος. The elder sculptor by that name is expressly called a Sicyonian by Pliny (N.H. 34, 55) but in Pausanias (VI, 6,2, VI, 13,7) and in inscriptions (Joswy, I.G.F. 91,92) he signs as an Argive. It is probable that he was a Sicyonian who was made a citizen of Argos. cf. Anti. Monumenti antichi XXVI, 1920, p. 650. He was active in the fifth century and is best known for his Doryphorus, Diadumenus, Amazon, athlete statues at Olympia, and the Hera at Argos. The ancient sources are all collected in Overbeck's Schriftquellen. The best modern accounts are Wähler, Polyklet und seine Schule; Gardner, Six Greek Sculptors, Chap. V; Furtwängler, Masterpieces, pp. 223-292; Anti, l.c. pp. 501-792.
260. Πολυκράτεια, a mother who consecrated her daughter Polycrateia to the θεοῖς σωτηρίοις(?), I.G. IV, 435.

261. Πολυκράτεια, wife of the younger Aratus who was corrupted by Philip, son of Antigonos Doson, and carried off to Macedonia, Plut. Aratus, 40,2; 51,3; Livy 27,31,8; 32,21,24.
262. Πολυκράτης. He is probably a Sicyonian since he was a descendant of Aratus to whom Plutarch dedicated his biography of Aratus, Plut. Arat. 1,1.
263. Πολυκράτης, son of the former, Plut. Arat. 1,5.
264. Πόπλιος Ἀτάνιος Πόπλιος, a victorious Ἀῆςυξ in agonistic games. The name occurs in an inscription from the temple of the Etoan Apollo dating from about the beginning of the Christian era, Wolleaux, P.O.H. 14, 1890, p. 187; I.G. VII, 4147.
265. Πραξαγόρας. See No. 267.
266. Πράξιλλα, lyric poetess who flourished about 450 B.C. and is one of the nine poetesses distinguished as the Lyric Muses, Suidas: Eusebius, Chron. Vol. II, p. 104 (ed. Schoene); Antip. of Thess. in Anth. Pal. IX, 26. Her scolia were among the celebrated compositions of that nature, Athen. XV, p. 694 a. One preserved in Athenaeus (XV, p. 695 c) was well known in Athens and is attributed to her, Aristop. Wasps 1238 and scholia; Eust. on Il. B, 711. She was also distinguished for the variety of her metres. Her fellow-townsmen, Lysippos, made a bronze statue of her, Tatian, contra Gr. 52. The fragments are in Bergk, I.L.G. III⁴, pp. 566 ff. The beginning of fr. 5 is preserved on a small cylix in the Fr. Mus. published by Jacobsthal, Göttinger Vasen, pl. XXII. cf. R. N. Robinson, A.J.A. 25, 1921, p. 2 n.1.
267. Πραξιών Πραξαγόρου, a member of the men's chorus at the Pateria at Delphi in 268 B.C., S.G.A.J. 2568, 45; Pitt. Syll.² 681, 45. ~~Quoted as 257 B.C. by~~
~~Schubert, J.G. P. xxxix, 1919, p. 171.~~
268. Πρωμαχίδας, magistrate between 251-146 B.C., Gr. Coins, Fr. Mus. Pelon. p. 52, No. 200; p. 54 Nos. 223, 224. Cf. Head, Hist. Num.² p. 411.

269. Περσέλλας, an officer left in charge of a garrison at Psophis in 218 B.C.,
Polyt. IV, 72, 9.
270. Περσέφαντος, brother of Clinias and husband of Poso, Plut. Arat. 2,2.
271. Περσίδας Σικωννία, gravestone in Athens, I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 3331.
272. Περσίδαφος, It is related in Athenaeus (XIII, p. 365 a) on the authority
of Theopompus that when the son of Pythodorus, a youth of extreme beauty,
came to Delphi to dedicate a lock of hair to the god, Phnarchus gave
him four golden combs from the offerings of the Sytarites. The story
evidently relates an event that took place during the Phocian occupation
of Delphi in the middle of the fourth century B.C. Cf. Fourguet, F.C.H.
XX, 1896, p. 235.
273. Πυθοκλήης. See No. 343.
274. Πυθοκλήης, victor in the stadion at Olympia in Ol. 136, Euseb. Chron. I,
p. 208 (ed. Schoene). Cf. Krause, Olympia, p. 366.
275. Πυθοκλήης, probably a Sicyonian since he dedicated the temple and statue
of Apollo in the new agora at Sicyon, Paus. II, 7,9. He is probably to
be identified with the sculptor mentioned by Pliny (N.H. 34,51) among
those of the period after Ol. 156.
276. Πυθοκλήης, son of Polycrates No. 262, Plut. Arat. 1,5.
277. Πυθοκρίτος ΚΑΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ, ἀνὰ κτήνης in the sixth century B.C., who fluted at
the pentathlon in the Olympic games and had an honorary statue at Olympia.
He had the distinction of winning six successive victories as flute-player
at the Isthian games, Paus. VI, 14, 9-10. Cf. Hyde, Ol. Victor Monuments,
pp. 42, 285.
278. Ρόδιον Ἀριστοδήμου Σικωννία, gravestone in Athens, I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 3337.
279. Σαργεύς, commander of 200 hoplites sent to Syracuse in 413 B.C., Thuc.
VII, 19, 4.

280. Σ α γ ρ α Σ τ ῖ λ ω ν ῖ α, gravestone in Athens, I.G. (N.I.) II, 3, 3538.
281. [Σ] ἄ τ ρ ο ς, ἀ β ἡ τ ῆ ς who was victor in Athens in 344/3 B.C., I.G. (C.I....) II, 3, 1240; Mitt. Syll. III³, 1086.
282. Σ ε υ θ ῶ ς, servant of Aratus who was probably a Megyonian. He was sent to reconnoitre the city wall in 251 B.C., Flut. Arat. 5,4.
283. Σ τ ῖ λ π ο ς. See No. 113.
284. Σ φ ο δ ρ ῖ α ς, victorious pederast at Olympia in Ol. 177, Phleg. Traill. fr. 126; Phot. cod. 97,3 = Müller, P.H.G. III, p. 606, fr. 12. cf. Robert, Hermes, 35, 1900, pp. 143 ff.
285. Σ ω κ [Λ ῆ ς]. He was honored with Cleander as a proxenus by the Pisatans in 364 B.C., Mitt. and Burgold, Insch. v. Ol. 36; Mitt. Syll. I³, 171; Hicks and Will 115; Michel 198.
286. Σ ω κ ρ ᾶ τ ῆ ς, painter in Hellenistic times, Pliny, N.H. 35, 137. cf. p.133.
287. Σ ω κ ρ ᾶ τ ῆ ς. See No. 137.
288. Σ ω μ ῶ ν ῆ ς. See No. 289.
289. Σ ω μ ῶ ν ῆ ς Σ ω μ ῶ ν ε ο ς, proxenus at Delphi in 176/5 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2561, 272; Mitt. Syll. II³, 595, 272.
290. Σ ὥ σ α ν δ ρ ο ς. See No. 59.
291. [Σ ὥ] σ α ν δ ρ ο ς Σ ω [Τ ῶ?] λ ο υ, a member of the men's chorus at the Soteria at Delphi in 230 B.C., Fomtow, Hlio XVII, 1921, p. 101, line 17. Dated 226 B.C. by Johnson, A.G.P. XL, 1919, p. 305.
292. Σ ω σ ι κ ᾶ ῆ ς. See No. 211.
293. Σ ω σ ι κ ᾶ ῆ ς, ἱ ε ρ ο μ ν ῆ μ ω ν at Delphi 273/2 B.C., Mitt. Syll. I³, 417,5; S.G.D.I. 2515,5. Dated 258 B.C. by Johnson, A.G.P. XXXIX, 1918, p. 170.
294. Σ ω σ ι κ ρ ᾶ τ ῆ ς, magistrate between 251-146 B.C., Head, Hist. Num.², p.411.
295. Σ ω σ ι κ ρ ᾶ τ ῆ ς Λ ε π τ ῖ ν ο υ, χο ρ ε υ τ ῆ ς κ ω μ ῖ κ ὁ ς at the Soteria at Delphi in 272 and 271 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2563, 73; 2564, 75. Dated 260 and 259 B.C. by Johnson, A.G.P. XXXIX, 1918, p. 171.
296. Σ ω σ ι κ ρ ᾶ τ ῆ ς Μ ν α ρ τ ῖ ω ν ο ς, κ ω μ ῖ κ ὁ ς at the Soteria at Delphi in 269 B.C., S.G.D.I. 2566, 67; Cf. O'Connor, op.cit. No. 458. Dated 257 B.C. by Johnson, A.G.P. XXXIX, 1918, p. 171.

297. Σωσιγέρτης. See No. 178.
298. Σωσίστρατος . See No. 289.
299. Σώστρατος [Σω]σιστράτου, pancratiast who won twelve victories at the Isthmus and Nereia; three at Olympia and two at Pytho, Paus. VI, 4,2. He had a statue both at Olympia and Delphi. The base of the latter recording his victories has been found near the treasury of the Sicyonians at Delphi. Cf. Maussoullier, F.C.H. VI, 1882, pp. 446 ff.; Fomtow and Fulle, Hlio, IX, 1909, pp. 183-188. The dates of his victories at Olympia are probably Ols. 104,105 and 106 = 364-356 B.C., cf. Hyde, op.cit. pp.249 n.1 and p. 300. He won the epithet ὁ ἀερολεΐστος ἥς because he gained his victories by grasping and bending his opponent's fingers, holding them till he yielded, Paus. VI, 4,1; Suidas, s.v.Σώστρατος; ἀερολεΐστος ἐστίν.
300. Σώστρατος. See No. 351.
301. Σωσώ, wife of Prophantus to whom Aratus fled when his father Clinias was slain, Plut. Arat. II, 3.
302. Σωτηγείδης, a soldier with the Ten Thousand Greeks who chided Xenophon and was reproved by him. Xen. Anab. III, 4, 46ff.
303. Σώκυλος . See No. 291.
304. Σώφιλος, comic poet of the Middle Period according to Suidas (s.v.).
305. Τεισιγέρτης Θοινίου, sculptor of Hellenistic times who was active in Sicyon, Tanagra and Gropus. All references to him are considered sm _{cf.} 116.
306. Τέλλης, victor in the stadion at Olympia in the 18th Olympiad according to Africanus in Euseb. Chron. I, p.175 (ed. Schoene).
307. Τέκνων, servant of Aratus, probably a Sicyonian. He helped him reconnoitre at Sicyon, Plut. Arat. 5 and 7, and was with him at the Acrocorinth, ibid. 20.

308. *Τηλεφάνης*, a painter credited with the invention of linear drawing by Pliny, N.H. 35, 16. Cf. Studniczka, Jahrbuch, II, 1897, pp.150-151.
309. *Τηλεφάνης* a *λατόμος* who worked on the colonnade at Delphi, C.G.E.I. 2502, 97; Mitt. Dyll. I³, 241 f 97. The date is 343/2 B.C.
310. *Τιμόανθος*, a painter who was active about the middle of the fifth century B.C. and was a contemporary of Zeuxis and Parrhasius with the latter of whom he was a rival, Pliny, N.H. 35, 64 and 71; Athen. XII, 543 e. His most famous painting was the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, Pliny, N.H. 35, 73; Quint., Inst. Orat. II, 13,12; Valer. Max. VIII, 11, Ext. 6; Cicero, Orat. XXII, 74 and others. The painting exists in at least two variations. See pp.125,126.
311. *Τιμόανθος*, a painter who was active about the middle of the third century B.C., Plut. Arat. 32. He is probably rightly identified with the Timanthes who accompanied Aratus to Egypt, ibid. 12, 3.
312. *Τιμόδημος*. See No. 344.
313. *Τιμοκλείδας*, a ruler elected with Clinias before 264 B.C., Plut. Arat. 2. Cf. Faus. II, 9,2. He is probably the same one as is mentioned in an inscription from Delos. Bürrbach, F.C.F. 22, 1904, p.135 No. 31. Here it reads *Τιμοκλείδας Θεοτίμου Σικωώνιος*. Gardner suggests that a Sicynian coin in the British Museum with the letters TE may stand for Timoclidēs, Gr. Coins Fr. Mus. Pelop. p.48 No. 153; cf. p.XXIV. A man of the same name is mentioned on a broken base from Delphi on which there possibly stood a dedication by Timoclidēs of statues of Alexander, son of Polysperchon, and of Cratesipolis. But since Alexander was murdered in 315 B.C. the dates are a difficulty in identifying this Timoclidēs with the Sicynian ruler who died in 265/4 B.C. The latter might be a grandson of the former.

314. Τιμοκράτης. See Nos. 124 and 131.
315. Τιμάϊκος, author on cookery in the first part of the third century B.C., Athen. XIV, 662 c. Cf. Sussehl, op. cit. p. 379.
316. Ύψικλης, victor in the long course at Olympia in Ol. 177, Thlegon Trall. in Iktos cod. 97 = Müller, P.H.C. III, p. 606, fr. 12.
317. Φίλιππος, ἀσλητής in Athens at an uncertain date, I.G. (S.I.L.) II, 3, 1294; Mitt. Syll. II², 711.
318. Φιλίππος, gravestone in Sicyon, Parle, Ol. Rev. VI, 1892, p. 134.
319. Φιλοθέλης. See No. 163.
320. Φιλομένης. See No. 7.
321. [Φ]ιλ[?] dedicator at Delos in 279 or 290, I.G. XI, 2, 161 F, line 13.
322. Φιλώτας, dedicator at Athens, I.G. (S.I.L.) II, 2, 820.
323. Φύλαγλος, the historian, a contemporary of Aratus. He is said to be from Athens, Naucratis or Sicyon, Suidas s.v. φύλαγλος; Athen. II, 58 c. Most writers agree he was not from Sicyon. Cf. Christ-Schmid, Gr. Literaturgesch. II⁵, pp. 161-162; Sussehl, op. cit. I, pp. 630-633.
324. Χαιρέας, boy-boxer whose statue Lausanias saw at Olympia, Paus. VI, 3, 1. His victory may have been won between Ol. 95 and Ol. 107 = 400-352 B.C. Cf. Fitzig-Plümner, Paus. ad.loc.
325. Χαιρέδημος or Χαιρίδημος, friend of Isodemos, Nicol. Damas. fr. 61.
326. Χαιρήμων, father of Χαιρέας No. 324.
327. Χαιρίθεος. See No. 328.
328. Χαίρης Χαιριθέου, Κισσαριστής at the Soteria at Delphi in 225 B.C., Mitt. Syll. I³, 509, 5. *Ant. 2213. C. by Hansen, A. J. P. 1919, pp. 292 ff.*
329. Χαιρίδημος. See No. 243.
330. Χαρίτιμος. See No. 197.
331. Χάρσπος. Probably a Sicyonian. The name occurs on a vase of Exekias signed in letters of the Sicyonian alphabet, I.G. IV, 424; Roberts, Intr.

to Gr. sig. I, No. 85.

Incomplete Names.

332. 'Α...? or 'Αλξέων, probably a donor to the temple fund at Delphi, Four-guet, I.G.H. 27, 1903, p. 28; Ditt. Syll. I³, 240 v Col. II, 10.
333. 'Α[..... Σικυών] ου, one who sold timber to the Delphians in 342/1 B.C., Ditt. Syll. I³, 248 E² Col. I, 10.
334. 'Αλ[.....] ου. See 'Αλεξίων No. 23.
335. αλλίου Σικυών—. An inscription from the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, Fouilles de Delphes III, 2, p. 85 e.
336. ης 'Ελευθερίου Σικυώνιος. Victor in the foot-race at Larisa. Late first century B.C., I.G. IX, 2, 534.
337. —— Θεος, a dedicator. I.G. (3.I. .) I, Suppl. II, p. 100, No. 373²⁰⁰.
338. Θεοφ, probably a magistrate. Gr. Coins Fr. Mus. Pelop. p. 48 Nos. 157, 158.
339. καλλι—. The name occurs in a list found at Sicyon, I.G. IV, 425.
340. . . κείας Δαμώθεος. Among a list of the Theorodokoi at Delphi, Hlassart, F.C.N. 45, 1921, p. 11 line 34.
341. —— μανρος. Found in the same list as No. 340.
342. Μενίη— probably a magistrate. Gr. Coins Fr. Mus. Pelop. p. 53 No. 217.
343. Μνασ—Πυθοκλέους Σικυώνιος, ἔφηρος in Athens in 105/4 B.C., I.G. (C.I....) II, 1, 465 line 106.
344. Νικ—Τιμοδείμων Σικυώνιος, ἀθλητής who won at Delphi in 226 or 225 B.C., I.G.B.I. 2568, 11. Dated 220 B.C. by Johnson, J.H.P. XL, 1919 pp. 294-295.
345. Ξενοφίη— probably a magistrate. Gr. Coins Fr. Mus. Pelop. p. 55 No. 239.
346. ος Αἰνέτου, naepoios at Delphi in 346 B.C. or later, Ditt. Syll. I³, 237 II I, 46.
347. ος Εὐάνδ[ρί]δα, naepoios at Delphi before 300 B.C., Ditt. Syll. I³, 237 II I, 47.

348. Πολυκρά-, probably a magistrate. Gr. Coins Tr. Mus. Belg. p. 52 No. 120.
cf. Head, Hist. Num.² p. 411. πολυκράτης
349. ----- Σικωνίος probably an ἀγλητής who won at Athens, I.G.
(C.I.A.) II, 3, 1237.
350. ----- στρατος Σικωνί(ος), κισαριστής who was victorious at the
Amphiarraia at Oropus about the middle of the fourth century B.C., I.G.
VII, 414.
351. [-σ] τράτο[ς] Σωστράτου Σικωνίος, ἐφηβος in Athens, I.G. (C.I.A.)
II, 1, 469, line 113.
352. -----τος Θεοτίμου, a naepoies at Delphi in 346 B.C. or later, Bitt.
Syll. I³, 237 II F, 45.

The following are anonymous but refer to Sicyonians.

353. Bitt. Syll. I³, 248 K² Col. I line 15 refers to two Sicyonians from whom
timber was purchased by the Delphians in 342/1 B.C.
354. S.C.D.I. 3395, 11 refers to a Sicyonian workman. Cf. Guiraud in Bibl.
Phil. et Lettres de Univ. de Paris, 1900, p. 160.
355. I.G. (C.I.A.) II, 3, 1241 refers to a Sicyonian flute-player who was
victorious at Athens in 344/3 B.C.
356. Two inscriptions from Delphi on which the name is lacking but the ethni-
con is preserved refers to two Sicyonian sculptors, Horrocks, P.O.H. 23,
1899, pp. 382, 383.

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